Caring For Our Past: Documenting Saskatchewan's Multicultural Heritage

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Caring For Our Past: Documenting Saskatchewan's Multicultural Heritage

Edited by
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We wish also to thank the executive and staff of the Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan and the members of its regional councils for their diligent work in cosponsoring and participating in **Caring For Our Past**. We would particularly like to recognize Stephanie Fielding, President of the Multicultural Council during the planning phase of the Conference, George Hall, a Director of the Council and member of the Conference Planning Committee, Terry Mountjoy, Executive Director of the Council and Maureen Murray, member of the Council staff, who all contributed much to the success of the Conference.

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Ruth Dyck Wilson
Kathlyn Szalasznyj

Preface

The Conference on multicultural archives focused on the foundation of all historical study: the archival record. As we grow older, as each generation dies and memory fades, the archival record assumes greater and greater importance. Documents of many types carry forward thoughts and plans, achievements and failures, hopes and intentions from one generation to another. The archival record is a dynamic thing, constantly growing and broadening, using all media in an attempt to mirror society, past and present. The adequacy of this record depends in large measure on the cooperation of many individuals and groups.

The Conference provided an opportunity to build on the efforts made over several decades to document the varied history of Saskatchewan. Forty years ago, the Saskatchewan Archives Board was established as an arms-length corporate body involving the two universities and the provincial government in its administration. The Board very early took a comprehensive view of its mandate and in 1950 defined its acquisition interests:

> The concept that the *only* valuable records are those which tell of cyclones, rebellions, floods, hangings, "first" things, "biggest" things, and similar unusual phenomena is still too common. It is a concept which has produced and is producing a widespread destruction of significant records and reflects a false sense of values—for it denies that there is significance and worth in the life and labour of the mass of mankind. The historian's interests are as varied and inclusive as the problems and concerns of everyday life; the archivist's interests cannot be less comprehensive.

In pursuit of this policy, the Archives has cast a broad net, gathering both the official records of the provincial government and private papers and records from a wide spectrum of organizations, families, and individuals. In recent years, the Archives has had the good fortune to work with the Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan, several local councils, and many individual groups. The results of these cooperative efforts are cumulative, taking tangible form both in the collections of papers, photographs, and oral histories preserved and in the efforts many groups are now making to share their heritage with others. As speakers at the Conference noted, much remains to be done both in preserving the archival record and in preparing histories based on it. But a beginning has been made; awareness is developing; and through the cooperative energies of the Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan, the regional councils, and the Saskatchewan Archives Board much may result.

The **Caring For Our Past** Conference owed a great deal to many people. The Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan took the initiative and provided support throughout. Valuable financial assistance was provided provincially and federally. The speakers, panelists, workshop leaders, and the participants who braved an early winter storm provided the heart and soul of the Conference. Finally, many members of the Archives Board staff assisted. Ruth Dyck Wilson and Kathlyn Szalasznyj worked throughout providing leadership in organizing the Conference and now in editing this publication as a continuing contribution to our shared goal: preserving the record of Saskatchewan's rich multicultural heritage.

Ian E. Wilson
Provincial Archivist

The **Caring For Our Past** Conference sponsored by the Saskatchewan Archives Board and the Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan represented a major step in recognizing the importance of ethnic and multicultural archival documents and materials held by ethnic communities in Saskatchewan.

The Conference brought together approximately two hundred individuals from across Saskatchewan and beyond, in an opportunity to share information, motivations, experiences, and skills relating to the preservation and use of multicultural archives. Through the Conference, we were able to identify support for preservation and research endeavours, and to focus on the need for cooperation in caring for our documentary past.

For the Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan, the Conference represented a major first activity in dealing with ethnic historical records. The Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan promotes all aspects of multiculturalism in our province and recognizes the importance of the rich historical contributions of all of our ethnocultural communities, as well as the value of their current undertakings. We were very pleased to be a partner in this project.

Our province is unique. Our largest ethnic group is only one-quarter of our population. Our three largest groups (English, German, Ukrainian) comprise only fifty percent of Saskatchewan's population. Half a million people are represented by a multiplicity of other ethnic and national groupings. We are truly a multicultural province and our ethnic history is Saskatchewan's history.

We hope that the proceedings will remind those who attended the Conference of our commitment to the cause, and encourage those who were unable to attend to become more active in searching for documents and materials for retention and preservation in the facilities of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

Eileen Rieger
President
Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan

Introduction

This publication has grown out of the Conference, **Caring For Our Past: Documenting Saskatchewan's Multicultural Heritage,** held in Regina, October 25-27, 1984. Sponsored by the Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan and the Saskatchewan Archives Board, the Conference focused on ethnocultural records, and the need to further the work of preserving the documentary evidence of Saskatchewan's multicultural heritage. Letters, diaries, reminiscences, records of voluntary and religious organizations, photographs, and tape recordings are examples of the types of records essential to understanding the values, past activities, and contributions of the many ethnocultural groups which make up Saskatchewan society. The Conference brought together the creators, users, and keepers of these ethnocultural records and many concerned about the preservation of and future access to these perishable documents.

The Conference participants came together in plenary, concurrent, roundtable, and workshop sessions. Papers concerning ethnocultural research relating to Saskatchewan, archival resources available for such research, and various methodologies applied to this research were presented, as well as the programmes and special projects of certain archival repositories, historical societies, and research centres involved in preserving ethnocultural records. A series of workshops offered academic and technical expertise in special-interest areas, such as writing ethnic local history, record-keeping and archives management for organizations, conducting multicultural family history research, the care and use of photographs, oral history, ethnic folklore, and geography.

The major theme of the Conference was the need for cooperation among those who create or acquire ethnocultural records, those who collect and care for them in the course of their work, and those who utilize them for research and study. Dr. Cornelius Jaenen, in his keynote address, articulated this theme when he spoke about the common needs and objectives of the four main groups or "clusters" represented at the Conference: the multicultural councils, the ethnocultural organizations, and local and institutional historical societies; the museums, libraries, archives, and other repositories; the media, particularly the ethnic press; and finally, academic researchers and teachers of all disciplines. Dr. Jaenen demonstrated the interdependence of these clusters, and thus presented one model for documenting this province's multicultural history.

The following pages represent the contributions made by many of the programme participants. An effort was made to have all of the programme participants contribute to this publication. Thus, there is a great variety of articles published here. Some of these papers have been written by representatives of ethnic and community groups; others by those working in archival repositories; and still others, by members of the academic community representing many disciplines. In some instances, and particularly in regard to the workshops, only the major themes of the various sessions have been published; it was not possible in all cases to reproduce the entire presentation, and the discussions and demonstrations that accompanied them. Some of the sessions had two or more programme participants, thus allowing for more than one paper on certain themes. The papers are generally presented in the same order in which they were given at the Conference. The exception to this is the keynote address by Dr. Jaenen which is presented first.

As statements of concern, as summaries of successful projects, as practical advice for future projects, and as visions of the future, these papers are themselves evidence of the potential of common effort. We hope that they will also serve as an inspiration for future cooperative endeavours.

Conference Programme

FILM PREMIERE

A première showing of a Saskatchewan-produced documentary, a programme from the CBC series, *The Canadians*—"The Blacks in Saskatchewan."

PLENARY SESSIONS

1. **Saskatchewan Ethnocultural Studies in Retrospect: Themes and Sources.**

   Alan Anderson, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan — *An overview of multicultural research in the province examining reasons for study, themes, and sources of information used.*

   Clint White, Department of History, Campion College, University of Regina — *Academic interest in ethnocultural research and types of studies needed to enrich our understanding of Saskatchewan's past.*

   Brenda Zeman, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Saskatoon — *Public interest in multiculturalism as reflected in prairie media, directions in this interest and ethnic stereotyping.*

2. **Archival Resources and Ethnic Studies.**

   Ruth Dyck Wilson, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina — *Documents and collections which describe Saskatchewan's multicultural experience, with emphasis on the holdings of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, and the vital role which individuals and organizations play in the collection and preservation of these materials.*

   Warren Clubb, Western Development Museum, Saskatoon — *Ethnic archival resources in Saskatchewan museums.*

   Walter Neutel, National Ethnic Archives Section, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa — *Multicultural resources for Saskatchewan researchers at the Public Archives of Canada.*

3. **Ethnocultural Studies: Research Methods.**

   A roundtable session on methods employed in conducting research; the nature, origins, and reliability of data used; and the value of community contacts.

   Resource Persons:

   Del Anaquod, Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, University of Regina

   Victor Buyniak, Department of Slavic Studies, University of Saskatchewan

   Martin Kovacs, Department of History, University of Regina

   Kurt Tischler, Administration, College of Arts and Science, University of Saskatchewan

   Avra Watson, Saskatoon Multicultural Council

4. **Perspectives on the Future.**

   Focuses on cooperation and community of interests, prospects for ethnocultural research and studies, and future directions for the preservation of ethnocultural and immigration records.

   George Hall, Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan and Swift Current Multicultural Council

   Zenon Pohorecky, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan

   Ernest Epp, Saskatchewan Association for Multicultural Education

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Archival Programmes in Local Communities: Purpose, Experience, and Progress.

Concurrent Session 1

Carl Denet, Eino Maki, Nancy Mattson and Charles Sutyla, New Finland Community, Saskatchewan

Elizabeth Beaton-Planetta, Society for the Study of Ethnicity in Nova Scotia

Concurrent Session 2

André Lalonde, la Société historique de la Saskatchewan, Regina

Stephanie Cain Van D'Elden, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota

WORKSHOPS

1. **The Use of Oral History in Multicultural Study.**
   Krzysztof Gebhard, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina
   Violet Spencer, Craik Oral History Society

2. **Record-Keeping and Archives: An Information System for Your Organization.**
   Kathlyn Szalasznyj, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon

3. **Conducting Multicultural Family History Research.**
   D'Arcy Hande, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon
   Elaine and Ken Engel, American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, Regina Chapter

4. **Writing Ethnic Local History.**
   Gerald Friesen, Department of History, University of Manitoba

5. **Folklore and Multicultural Studies.**
   Michael Taft, Department of English, University of Saskatchewan

6. **Photographs: Their Care and Use in the Multicultural Context.**
   Douglas Bocking, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon
   Koozma Tarasoff, Doukhobor Ethnologist, Ottawa

7. **Multicultural Studies: Government Perspectives.**
   Judy Young, Multiculturalism Directorate, Department of Secretary of State, Ottawa
   Charles Sutyla, Arts and Multicultural Division, Department of Culture and Recreation, Regina.

8. **Saskatchewan Geography and Ethnocultural Research.**
   Maureen Fox, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon
   J. Howard Richards, Department of Geography (Professor Emeritus), University of Saskatchewan

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Cornelius J. Jaenen, Department of History, University of Ottawa
"Planning for the Future by Caring for our Past."

Conference participants at the opening plenary session, 1984. Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan photograph.

Keynote Address

Planning for the Future by Caring for our Past

Cornelius J. Jaenen

A people ignorant of its history is like a person without a memory. How can we plan intelligently for our future if we do not understand where we have come from, how we have arrived at this point and place in time, or where we are at presently? But, you do not need to be a historian to value the past in terms of its experiences and its relevance.

Historians are often depicted either as living in some distant past, oblivious of the realities and challenges of our own day, or else as ensconced in some ivory tower uncomprehending of the social issues and imperatives which surround us. So, when called upon to give a keynote address, he or she, as the case may be (although some have ventured that historians are neither "she" nor "he," but "like the angels") rises to the occasion somewhat like a Rip Van Winkle or a Sleeping Beauty, affecting a professional tone to pontificate on irrelevancies, past or present. Still others, sometime sociology majors, no doubt, denounce such categorization as stereotyping and assert that historians appear in four modes, the most representative being mutations which could be characterized as Rip the Beauty and Sleeping Van Winkle. Indeed, I myself have wondered recently, in assessing some of my colleagues, if there were not a grain of truth in this. Some of my recent readings — oh yes, historians do read, as well as write and talk — incline me to identify some Sleeping Van Winkles who think nothing of note happened before the arrival of the Loyalists and since the burning down of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa in 1916. Also, some Rip the Beauties see universities as centres specializing in Great Brain Robberies.

You will have some time available in workshops tomorrow, I believe, in which to decide how to categorize this rare bird from the Moose Mountain meadows now before you. I just hope you will not condemn me to the camp of the Rippers.

Seriously (I suppose I should say equally seriously), we are all historians of sorts, and sort of historians. We all understand the present in terms of past experiences — whether it is the quality of the dessert we just ate, our appreciation of today's plenary sessions, or our rationalizations for being at this Conference. All the human mind apprehends has its history; without the past there is no present, and there can be no future. If we *are* because we *think* — then I could add, we are historians of sorts *when* we think.

If I may use an analogy from my Native history course — this is like a great inter-tribal gathering. Inter-tribal gatherings were multicultural too. Here we are speaking the languages of and representing the interests of numerous clans or tribes — multicultural councils, ethnocultural societies, local history societies, museums, libraries, archives, the media, academe, and so forth. We too will need to cover the dead, wash away the tears, unstop the ears, and open our throats; we may even have to water the roots of the tree of peace and bury a few hatchets. But together we get some vision of how to plan for our future by caring for our past.

I envisage four clusters, or confederacies, exploring together the needs and possibilities for cooperation to achieve their *several* and divergent ends, and exploring their *common objectives*. Multicultural councils, ethnocultural organizations, local and institutional historical societies form one cluster. We are all aware of some of the work done here by this group in collecting and preserving heritage materials. Then, there is the professional cluster — the museums, libraries, archives, repositories — whose profile in documenting the multicultural heritage as part of their wider mission is known to you. Thirdly, there is the media cluster in which I draw attention to the ethnic press and the various publishing establishments. Finally, there is the academic cluster which goes beyond historians, sociologists, educationists, linguists. There are anthropologists, demographers, musicologists, economists, lawyers, doctors, architects, and engineers, among others, who have research interests relevant to documenting our past, specifically informing us about our multicultural heritage. You have all seen some of the publications dealing with our architectural heritage, or come across audio-visual records of our musical and theatrical heritage, or read about traditional Native pharmacology.

But is there a mutual interdependence among these clusters, or do they often simply go their separate ways? It is my understanding that this Conference has as one of its objectives the awakening of interest in the other clusters, and the creation of an awareness of the possibilities and rewards of cross-fertilization, of cooperation, and of consultation.

I am assuming that I am speaking to the converted this evening; that is, the converted in the sense of those who are already convinced of the value of preserving the artifacts and mentifacts of our multicultural heritage. But the converted have to be instructed in the performance of good works and in the transmission of the faith. That is what our inter-tribal gathering is about too: what are the possibilities of working together and its potentialities; what do we preserve, how, why, and for whom?

Do the professionals and academics really look to the non-professionals for assistance and information? Can the professionals help the local parish or school district or women's group or fraternal organization to identify and collect and preserve significant items of its past to inform future generations? It is obvious that my answer to these questions is an unhesitating "yes" or else I would not have accepted your kind invitation. (Historians may be ready to speak on almost any given topic, but they rarely speak in favour of causes in which they do not believe.) Certainly, the ethnic communities need to inform themselves about the fruits of the research, and the recording of local history groups and of other organizations.

Historical records are no longer restricted to royal and ecclesiastical chronicles, proclamations, statutes, court decisions, parliamentary debates, and bylaws. Virtually every bit of paper, of memorabilia, of fact and interpretation can be a significant historical "document." For example, I heard a recorded interview with a pioneer hockey player who has more information stored in his head about the origins of professional hockey, about the predecessors of the NHL than all the publications to date on the subject ... several professors of sports history confirmed this for me. So his taped interview becomes a document of great historical significance. A packet of letters from great-aunt Sarah telling of the struggles of an immigrant woman whose husband is away for months on end working on the railroad or in a bush camp can be as useful to a social historian as the farm page of a journal from the same period. It is the bringing together of these diverse documents that enables the historian to make some sense of the past.

Do you not think the historian finds it useful in studying the lot of farm women in pioneer communities to have some first hand knowledge of the implements, tools, utensils available and affordable then; the foodstuffs that could be grown at that time and place; methods of preservation, if any — cultural and social conventions governing feeding and clothing a family; and what about family size, responsibilities, leisure, ideals? One could go on: there is the school, the church, and their records. A set of notebooks of a student in 1905 compared to a set from 1915 or 1935 would be a treasure — comparable to sets of textbooks — in fact we might have some idea about the ideals being inculcated and how much was being understood or absorbed, especially if we had some examination papers about. There must be some of these around yet in some attic, in some trunk, or perhaps some garage. A *primary source for a historian is whatever he uses and finds informative* — it could be almost anything.

I have undertaken, among many other projects, to write a history of the Belgians in Canada in collaboration with a historian at the Université de Montréal. Now, to write a history of Belgians in the framework of the ethnic histories of the *Generations* series sponsored by the Secretary of State is a real challenge. First Belgians are not an ethnic group; they are a national group. There are no ethnic Belgians as there is no Belgian language. There are at least two ethnic groups in Belgium — Flemings and Walloons — and they speak Flemish and/or French (Nederlands is now the official language taught in the Flemish areas). So in Canada it makes a great deal of difference whether we are looking at Flemings or Walloons or both in a given community, parish, club, or sporting association. They react very differently on some questions, although both have integrated rather well — in fact many have been rapidly assimilated into the Anglo-Celtic community.

The problem we face in our research is that they are a small community, spread over the country, possessing few ethnic organizations — some bowling leagues, archery clubs, a Belgian Club (veterans club) in St. Boniface — few ethnic parishes (one in all of the West) and until quite recently, little sense of ethnic solidarity. The resurgence of ethnic consciousness is being manifested in the Windsor and tobacco-growing region of southwestern Ontario where a Flemish nationalist organization is presently operating largely from Detroit, Michigan, and from headquarters in Antwerp, Belgium.

So, where do we go to obtain information on a rather dispersed, disparate, and unorganized community? No great research centres, repositories, archives directly identified with the group — no great Belgian collection in the National Ethnic Archives of the Public Archives of Canada, and even less at the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, or the Archives Nationales du Québec. So far the greatest collections of documents are those of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brussels, because the Belgians practised controlled emigration — allowing only excess population to leave, and then only to areas where a decent standard of living seemed assured for its citizens. So there is documentation relating to steamship and railways agents recruiting immigrants in Western Europe; concerning those settlers who returned and sometimes tried to entice their relatives and former neighbours to join them in Canada (some interesting Ministry of Justice dossiers on these individuals who were pursued for enticing away the King's subjects!); and there are shipping records.

With reference to Canadian sources, I have found that local histories were most valuable. As municipalities, towns, parishes, and school districts wrote their jubilee histories, many included biographical entries on the original families (sometimes all the families that lived over several decades in an area). These family accounts are of interest to more than the relatives and neighbours and the others who shared their community life. From them I can ascertain, for example, the dates when various families immigrated, the pattern of emigration in the "old country" (i.e., the areas they came from there and often why they left), the social ties maintained in the new land, and then over the generations we can trace the phenomenon of out-group marriage. We begin to note the linguistic patterns and educational course of various families and sometimes indications of social mobility too. Walloons often associate with francophones and become part of the Franco-Manitoban or Fransaskois community, for example, while the Flemings often quickly adopt English and intermarry with other anglophone Catholics — all this from biographical accounts.

There are parish records to enlighten us on certain matters. For example, I found some indications of friction between the Walloons and Flemings on the question of language used in sermons and announcements in the parish, and later the same division turns up in the language of instruction at school. Local newspapers as well as the larger dailies inform us about the once important bicycle races, the pigeon races, the international bowling tournaments, the archery competitions, for example, for which the Belgians were noted. Some Museum of Man and Nature people — student summer projects I suspect — in Winnipeg had the foresight to interview some of the great dairymen. In British Columbia, a student doing a thesis on the financing of the fruit-growing industry of the Okanagan has some interesting things to say about some Belgian syndicates there.

I could multiply examples — but you get the idea — I depend on the kinds of materials you can identify, collect, preserve, make available, and also announce through some central cataloguing or indexing system.

I think there is a Craik Oral History Society. Does it have taped interviews with pioneers and if so, were some of them Belgians? Were these Belgians significant to my research? Theoretically every Belgian is significant to my research — but did this particular individual or family immigrate as part of a recruitment programme, a colonizing scheme, a chain migration pattern, or simply as a "loner." I have to have some way of knowing there is such a society and knowing what it has collected. I cannot visit every town and hamlet, but some I may find very fruitful sources of information.

I would like to know, for example, when Belgian horses were imported into Saskatchewan, who bred them, and what their diffusion was. Is there a horsebreeders' association which could enlighten me on this historical matter? I would like to know when Belgian cream separators — the ones preceding the de Laval ones — were introduced here, by whom, and why they lost the market eventually. My research so far has not provided the answer. Someone here from a dairy association, a museum, a businessmen's association might give me the answer and point me to some documentation.

Perhaps you are surprised to hear that historians turn to horsebreeders' associations or dairymen's associations to get information about agricultural and manufacturing history. The history we practise is increasingly what has been called *global history*. To understand a society we need to know as much as possible about all aspects of its life. We are doing more history from what has been called rather inelegantly "from the bottom up"; that is, we do not necessarily start with the King and parliament, the government and the Mounties, but with the common man and woman. So we are interested in children, families, working men, housewives, Native peoples, ethnic groups, blacksmiths, harvesting gangs, and the list could go on. There is an element in this of what is called *popular culture*. We are interested, among other things, in what people ate, how they dressed, their social habits, their ideals and attitudes. Where do you get this information? The professional historian turns to the three other clusters I identified.

It may be that if you turn up the records of a horsebreeder who imported great Belgian workhorses, as opposed to Percherons or Clydesdales, that I could tell where that fits into the patterns of prairie agriculture or Belgo-Canadian relations. Then the museums will turn up the heavier horseshoes these heavy beasts required and next thing we know someone will turn in an album of what was thought to be only family pictures with photos of the three successive Grand Champions at the Toronto Winter Fair ... well, you see how historians dream. They dream the way they work.

Academics who deal with immigrant groups often use the term *acculturation*, meaning the process of adaptation to a new environment. But you people who are involved in local and regional matters also deal with acculturation. There is the adaptation that occurs as people move from the "old country" to the "new country." But what about acculturation in terms of an English urban dweller coming to a homestead in Saskatchewan? That represents an additional move — from urban to rural. Then you have those who move from the rural areas to the towns and cities? Is that experience not worth recording for posterity? What about those who come to a community homogeneous in terms of ethnic, linguistic, and religious character, and then find that the community changes and becomes heterogeneous, a veritable mosaic? What about the phenomenon of the transition of one-room rural schools to the larger units? There has been some study of that mutation, but more administrative and curricular than social. Is there no documentation available to see what happened to behavioural profiles, academic achievement, social patterns such as marriage, career profiles. We need case histories, as many as possible.

We can all think of the changes consequent upon the introduction of automobiles and trucks, and later of the disappearance of local passenger train service and branch lines. I grew up in a Saskatchewan community in which our shopping was restricted to the local village general stores, hardware store, drug store, Chinese cafe, lumber yard, and Eaton's, Simpson's, and Dupuis Frères' catalogues. Our entertainment was locally provided and centred most often on house parties and the local schoolhouse where in addition to the Christmas concert, Valentine party, and Empire Day celebrations, sometimes combined with a field day, the occasional politician and travelling evangelist held forth as did the Grain Growers and Wheat Pool with their Mickey Mouse cartoons for the kiddies.

Those of us who lived through those years of Depression — as a young lad I snared gophers and killed crows for the bounties the respective tails and legs brought in — remember the dunes of drifting topsoil, the tumbling Russian thistles, the swarms of grasshoppers filtering the blistering rays of a relentless sun and swept on by the searing winds that never seemed to bring us rain-filled clouds. Streak lightning brightened up the evening skies — what a magnificent sight — as the storms so ardently desired and prayed for inevitably seemed to split, bypass us, and then rejoin in the east to water the Red River valley. Where is all that recorded? It is recorded in the literature — and that too is a source we should not neglect — and in those short stories and poems prairie people sent in to the *Free Press Prairie Farmer*, the *Family Herald and Star*, and the *Western Producer*. That too is part of our heritage. What about the folksongs of the Prairies — were there any to record the hopes and the disappointments of the great Drought and Depression, the Regina Riot, the bootleggers?

I make a special plea for the identification and preservation of materials about individuals, groups, and movements which have an impact on our society but which have not been sufficiently documented. My M. A. thesis dealt with the origins and growth of the Pentecostal movement in Western Canada. I interviewed some early pioneer evangelists, fund raisers, allegedly-healed converts, a few schismatics, and others. In recent years I have been amazed to find that I possess more information in some domains about those "early days" of the movement than most of its present Bible school teachers and leaders. They failed in good measure to record their own history for posterity. I might add that a tape recorder and today's modern interviewing techniques would have greatly enhanced my research.

We know so little about many obscure, and not so obscure associations. We need to know more about the Ku Klux Klan in this province for example. There must be information about the Klan in some family papers, church records, stored in the memories of "old timers." The problem, you see, is that not many doctors, lawyers, high school principals, and others who were local Klansmen, now want to venture forth with information. For the social historian, it is important that it was leading citizens in a community who seem to have been attracted to the Klan for a period — not the marginal man. The official sources, as you probably know better than I do, are fairly limited on this group.

What I am saying is that the historian depends on many others and on what may be termed "unconventional sources" to reconstruct the past and understand it. Of course, the historian may help his informants to clarify the past, to give meaning to documentation, and to provide the context for an event, for artifacts and mentifacts. That is the kind of cooperation I believe a Conference such as this can stimulate — can uphold as an ideal as we plan for the future work of documenting our heritage.

I do not care to engage in the debate whether materials which form the record of our multicultural heritage in Canada should go to the National Ethnic Archives, the provincial archives, or some repository of a university, institute, or research centre. Obviously a case can be made for each centre, just as a rationale can be provided for the destination of each document or artifact. What *is important*, is that the material go to some centre where it is preserved, properly cared for, and made accessible. I think of the invaluable papers of the *abbé* Sabourin (a missionary who ministered to the "Ruthenians") which were found slowly decaying in a garage in a small Manitoba village or a complete run of a rare Finnish newspaper also packed away in a shed near Thunder Bay! The archivists, librarians, and custodians need spend little time and energy in institutional competition and get on with seeking out the endangered and unidentified primary source materials. The local community organizations are their great collaborators.

Most important, I believe, is that more people should come to realize that what is important and relevant *to them* may be of importance and relevance *to the larger community* too. The treasures and memorabilia of the individual, family, or club may, in fact, be relevant and significant to the general public.

Finally, Canada has had a long history of state intervention in economic, social, and cultural life. My own research in the French period of our colonial past has convinced me of the largely beneficial nature of that intervention, given the number of constraints (geographic and demographic among others) we have always had to contend with in the northern portion of this hemisphere. So, I am more inclined than some of my colleagues to see the advantages and the positive aspects of such things as governmental directives and subsidization, whether at the federal, provincial, or municipal levels. A history funded by a municipality in Ontario won the Canadian Historical Association prize for local history a couple years ago: a commissioned and subsidized work proved to be a superior scholarly product. I wish we had more Louisbourg and Batoche projects and more research centres for local, ethnic, or regional constituencies.

My conviction is that official sponsorship and political support of multicultural and heritage projects is a healthy development to be enjoyed and utilized intelligently. It has been said that groups such as those represented here today then risk having the flow of water to various projects controlled and perhaps even having the tap turned off, so to speak. To this I would respond: and what other sources of water do we have and who is providing the piping? I think you here are representative of those in this province who will see to it that more of our past flows on into the future.

A people ignorant of its history is like a person without a memory. You do not need to be a historian to value the past in terms of its relevance and experiences. Together we can provide the future with better documentation of the past.

Saskatchewan Ethnocultural Studies and Archival Resources

Ethnic Research in Saskatchewan: Themes and Sources

Alan B. Anderson

The Ethnocultural Diversity of the Saskatchewan Population

The population of Saskatchewan reflects a rich ethnocultural diversity. I would like to comment on this diversity and primarily on the way it is reflected in ethnic research. I shall begin with a look at the numerous ethnocultural groups making up our population.

Native people form a higher proportion of the Saskatchewan population than they form of any other province's population. Saskatchewan Indians may be well on their way toward coalescing into a single ethnic group, yet traditionally they speak five Native Indian languages representing five tribes: Cree, Saulteaux (Ojibwa), Assiniboine (Stony), Dakota (Sioux), and Chipewyan (Athapaskan or Dene). Moreover they are divided into sixty-nine bands. And the numerous Metis people have a unique history, culture, and identity of their own.

Beginning in the 1880s, and until the 1930s, a broad array of ethnic, or more specifically ethno-religious groups established their own bloc settlements across the rural Saskatchewan prairie. Following the voyageurs and Metis, Francophone settlers immigrated not only from Quebec but also directly from France and Belgium, as well as from earlier French settlements in Manitoba and the American plains states. Together they established thirty-two settlements in Saskatchewan, sixteen in a southern tier from the Manitoba border across to the Cypress Hills, and an equal number in a northern tier across the parkland belt comprising the northernmost fringe of the prairie physical region. These settlements range in size from only a few hundred people to several thousand, the largest being the Gravelbourg and Willow Bunch areas in the south, and the Duck Lake, St. Louis, and Domremy areas in the north.

Settlers of British origin were themselves of diverse origins — they included temperance colonists and other migrants from Ontario, immigrants from England who established Cannington Manor and the Barr Colony, Highland Scottish crofters, Orkney Islanders, Catholic and Protestant Irishmen, and Welsh who arrived via Argentina.

Ethnic German *(Volksdeutsche)* immigrants duplicated their Catholic and Protestant colonies in Russia, Poland and Romania, or moved northward into Saskatchewan from vast German settlements in the United States. German Catholics founded the extensive St. Peter's Colony around Humboldt, then the even larger St. Joseph's Colony between Kerrobert, Macklin and Unity, as well as many smaller colonies such as Liebenthal and Krassna-Rastadt between Leader and Maple Creek, or Josephstal and Odessa east of Regina. German Protestants also established numerous settlements, such as Neu Elsass around Strasbourg, Hohenlohe around Langenburg, Lemberg, and Neudorf, Edenwold northeast of Regina, and a Volga German Baptist colony north of Yorkton. North of St. Walburg, supporters of the nationalistic *Deutscher Bund* were replaced by refugees from the Sudetenland during the thirties. Mennonites immigrated from colonies in Russia and Prussia, many via Mennonite colonies in Manitoba and the American plains states, to settle between Rosthern and Saskatoon, around Swift Current, and in many other communities scattered across Saskatchewan. Hutterites moved from Russia to South Dakota in 1874, then up into Alberta and Manitoba, and finally (by the 1950s) into Saskatchewan, establishing more than fifty colonies in this province. Dutch Catholics settled the Cramersburg district (northwest of Swift Current) and Christian Reformed *Noord-Hollander* settlers, the village of Edam (northwest of North Battleford).

Ukrainian and Polish settlements merged to form a single vast settlement covering much of east-central Saskatchewan, while other large settlements developed in a belt running northwest: Yellow Creek and Alvena around Wakaw, the Garden River area east of Prince Albert, and the Redberry Lake area around Hafford and Krydor. Together these settlements contained tens of thousands of people of Ukrainian and Polish origins. Russian Doukhobors settled around Kamsack and Blaine Lake. Croatians settled around Kenaston, Czechs to the north of Rosetown, and Slovaks near Esterhazy. Hungarian colonies included Kaposvar and Esterhaz near Esterhazy, Bekevar at Kipling, Otthon between Melville and Yorkton, Mathyasfold, Szekely and Magyar south of Punnichy, Dunafoldvar and Buda near Wakaw, and St. Laszlo near Prud'homme. Romanians settled at Wood Mountain, Dahinda and Kayville in the Dirt Hills, at Dysart, and in the Shell River Valley straddling the Saskatchewan-Manitoba border, as well as in Regina. Jews founded several agricultural colonies: Hirsch, Sonnenfeld, Herzel, Edenbridge, and small colonies near Moosomin and Wapella.

Thousands of people of Norwegian origin concentrated in rural districts across the southernmost part of Saskatchewan, north of Swift Current, in the Outlook-Hanley area, and in a string of rural settlements running from Canwood and Parkside (west of Prince Albert) southeastward through the Birch Hills area, Melfort, Naicam, Rose Valley, to Preeceville. Swedes tended to settle amidst Norwegians, but also established several of their own settlements such as New Stockholm, Percival, and Admiral. A Danish congregation, Dannevirke, was founded at Redvers. Icelandic colonies included Logburg, Concordia, and Thingvalla near Churchbridge, Vallar and Holar near Tantallon, and an extensive settlement south of the Quill Lakes. Finns established the New Finland colony northeast of Whitewood and the Rock Point colony west of Birsay.

Adding to the ethnocultural diversity, Black farmers from Oklahoma settled in several locations in Saskatchewan, such as near Maidstone and Fiske. Syrians and Lebanese settled in the Swift Current region. Other ethnocultural groups, consisting largely of recent immigrants, have concentrated in the principal cities: Chinese from Hong Kong, Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese from Vietnam, South Asians (including Hindus, Sikhs, and Moslem Pakistanis), Filipinos, Greeks, Italians, Chileans and other Spanish-speaking people, Blacks and West Indians, Koreans, and Tibetans.

In many of these ethnic or ethno-religious groups—particularly the immigrant groups longest settled in Saskatchewan—only a decreasing minority still retain the traditional language of the group; moreover many ethnic traditions imported into the prairies have already been lost in considerable measure. Yet it is equally true that a revival of ethnic consciousness among the longer-established ethnic groups, as well as the arrival of newer ethnic groups, have ensured the continuity of ethnic diversity in Saskatchewan. Evidence of an increasing interest in multiculturalism is found in the proliferation of ethnocultural performing ensembles, in the popular appeal of ethnic festivals, and in heritage-language educational programmes as well as French immersion courses. The real essence of prairie society lies in its incredible ethnic diversity. Multiculturalism in Saskatchewan is not merely an ideology, not idle romanticism, not simply folk dancing. Rather, it is a fact of everyday life.[1]

The Historical Development of Ethnic Studies in Saskatchewan

Early authors writing on ethnic groups in Saskatchewan tended to reflect prevalent popular Anglo-Canadian opinions about the large and steadily increasing numbers of "foreign" (i.e., non-British) immigrants pouring into the prairies at that time. In 1904 Aylmer Maude, the sympathetic British philanthropist who was instrumental in introducing the Doukhobors to Canada, described them as "a peculiar people,"[2] while in 1909 J. S. Woodsworth, a founder of the CCF, who similarly was sympathetic towards the plight of immigrants, nonetheless described them as "strangers within our gates."[3] In 1918 J. T. M. Anderson discussed the problem of educating the children of large numbers of immigrants who were illiterate or who could not speak English.[4] Later, as Premier of Saskatchewan (1929-1934) he continued to advocate the restriction of non-British immigration and the use of "foreign" languages in the schools. Historians writing in the 1920s usually described the ethnic settlement of the prairies from a decidedly Anglo-Canadian point of view. Yet John Hawkes was not in full agreement with those in the province who complained:

> ... that the European immigrants ... occupy land, receive wages, which should by rights belong to our own people; and it is a piece of folly to encourage foreign immigration when there is a surplus population in the British Islands of our own race who could profitably occupy the land, and provide the labour necessary for our development.[5]

The remarks of one exuberant writer, B. M. Frith from Wakaw, in 1932, illustrate that the direction of assimilation was towards a British, rather than a Canadian identity:

> This district, settled by the pioneers of many tongues and races, has contributed no little part toward the establishment of a social organization built upon British principles in this small corner of a vast new land. Our individual pioneer, be he Scotch, Hungarian, Ukrainian, French, Russian, English, German, Scandinavian, Pole, Irish or American, has contributed to the growth of this British social organization ... Here's to the worth of our pioneers! ... Here's to the memory of pioneers! You gave of your youth and your worthwhile years to the white-hot iron, which with branding sears the Mark of Great Britain's glory![6]

Yet some writers, including Robert England, did provide interesting ethnographic detail on Central and Eastern European settlers.[7] During the 1930s historians and social scientists, including Robert England, C. A. Dawson,[8] W. A. Mackintosh,[9] and R.W. Murchie[10] collaborated in doing research on the social and economic impact of the settlement process. By the thirties assimilation was already beginning to take its toll, as C.H. Young described in his detailed analysis of Ukrainians.[11]

During the late forties and the fifties, research on specific ethnic groups included Marcel Giraud's rather opinionated account of the Metis role in the Northwest Rebellion,[12] Vera Lysenko's updated analysis of assimilation among Ukrainians,[13] Joseph W. Eaton's social psychological research on Hutterites,[14] Leo Driedger's M.A. thesis on Old Colony Mennonites,[15] and Donatien Frémont's detailed description of the origins of French settlers.[16]

During the sixties attention continued to be devoted to particular ethnic groups, including Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukhobors, and Ukrainians. Right-wing racist movements in Saskatchewan, notably the Ku Klux Klan, during the 1920s and 1930s were described in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford, *Politics in Saskatchewan*.[17]

Principal Themes in Contemporary Saskatchewan Ethnic Studies

Initially it should be pointed out that the field of Canadian ethnic studies has expanded rapidly during the seventies. Evidence of this is the foundation of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association and a wide variety of other academic or community-based associations, the establishment of the journal *Canadian Ethnic Studies* and the newsletter, the *CESA Bulletin,*[18] plus a steadily increasing number of other journals and newsletters primarily concerned with multiculturalism, and the production of an impressive array of publications. With this expansion, many publications on Canadian multiculturalism in general, on the history of immigration and settlement, and on multicultural education have contained at least partial coverage of Saskatchewan. Moreover, the literature specifically on Saskatchewan (but often concerned with more than a single ethnic group) has also been expanding. This literature would include the history of ethnic settlement in Saskatchewan, sociological and historical studies of ethnic communities, groups, institutions, and relations in Saskatchewan, and writing on multicultural education in the province.

Most of the recent literature in prairie ethnic studies consists of historical studies of particular ethnic groups, the history of ethnic settlement and pioneer reminiscences. However, some historians have written more specifically on certain themes, such as labour history and left-wing radicalism. Other themes have been anglo-conformity and discrimination, racism and inter-ethnic relations, ethnic folklore, and geographical studies of ethnic groups and ethnic settlements.

Innumerable histories of rural communities have been written, most of them in commemoration of the fiftieth and seventy-fifth anniversaries of the Province of Saskatchewan, in 1955 and 1980 respectively. Apart from these local histories, other studies of ethnic communities have been written under other auspices, including the Mercury series of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, published by the National Museum of Man, as well as publications produced by the Canadian Plains Research Center in Regina.

Sociologists have tended to concentrate primarily on contemporary analysis, although some have written extensively on the historical dimension of ethnic settlement. Some sociological research on ethnicity in Saskatchewan has been cross-cultural, employing survey data to analyze such trends as assimilation and culture change, race and ethnic relations, language retention, intermarriage, religious conversion and secularization, among others.

In the field of education, increasing attention has been devoted to multicultural education. Numerous papers on the subject have been presented at the meetings of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education in Saskatoon in June of 1979, at the Heritage Languages Education Workshop held at the University of Saskatchewan in June of 1981, at the national conference on multicultural education, "Building the Bridges," held in Winnipeg during the fall of 1981, and at a second conference, "Crossing the Bridges," held in Regina in the fall of 1983.

Critique of the Current State of Ethnic Research in Saskatchewan

Clearly the greatest volume of ethnic research and writing in Saskatchewan has focused on specific ethnic groups or communities. Certain groups, such as Native peoples, Ukrainians, French, Germans, Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukhobors, and perhaps Scandinavians, have been rather thoroughly covered in the literature, whereas others — particularly newer immigrant groups in the cities — have been paid little attention.

While there is now an extensive literature on the historical development of ethnic settlements and communities in Saskatchewan, a more penetrating historical-sociological analysis has been minimal. Such an analysis could go a lot further in explaining why there was discrimination against the immigration and settlement of certain "non-preferred" ethnic groups, why federal immigration policies were at once liberal toward the immigration of some groups yet strongly opposed to the entry of others, how provincial policies reflecting popular opinion among certain "established" ethnic groups in Saskatchewan effectively blocked the immigration, settlement, and integration of disadvantaged groups; or how some ethnic or religious groups were settled in marginal locations or were economically exploited.

Moreover, there has been little attempt made to link historical description to contemporary analysis. For example, to what extent has the strongly enforced assimilation through anglo-conformity, so apparent in the school system in earlier years, really been replaced by a new emphasis on mutual toleration or accommodation within a multicultural framework? And to what extent has the intolerance of a past generation, represented in popular support of such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, the Orange Order, and the Deutscher Bund, been replaced by a new attitude of acceptance, or better yet interest in, ethnic diversity? Has the disadvantaged position of some ethnic groups in the past (exemplified in illiteracy, poverty, "ghettoization," racism and discrimination) adversely affected the structure of ethnic stratification today?

It is surprising, perhaps, that only a single sociological research project[19] has produced data comparing intergenerational ethnic identity change among several ethnic or ethno-religious groups in rural Saskatchewan, and none in urban Saskatchewan. Studies of intermarriage — a key to ethnic change — are almost completely lacking in Saskatchewan. So, too, is detailed information on such important trends, for example, as the urbanization of native Indians and Metis, patterns of language use and shift, discriminatory and racist attitudes and practices, institutional or structural racism and discrimination, ethnic voting behaviour, integration and upward mobility of new immigrants and refugees. Nor do we have a very clear idea of attitudes toward multicultural education among parents, schoolchildren, teachers, administrators, or even provincial government personnel. These shortcomings present both a problem and a challenge.

Types of Sources Available

A brief final word on types of sources available to the student of Saskatchewan ethnic communities follows.

Very few up-to-date bibliographies containing information on Saskatchewan ethnic communities are available. By far the most ambitious and comprehensive is the selective annotated bibliography *Ethnic Communities in Saskatchewan* currently being compiled by the present author for the Saskatoon Multicultural Council and indirectly funded by the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State. When completed, this bibliography will contain some one thousand entries. The *Saskatchewan Bibliography* compiled by Ved Arora for the Saskatchewan Library is an impressive and up-to-date collection of 6,377 sources on Saskatchewan; however, it is lacking many sources on ethnic communities, particularly those in more general publications not specifically on Saskatchewan.[20] This gap is not filled by the *Resource List for a Multicultural Society*, published in 1976 for the Ontario Ministries of Education and of Culture and Recreation;[21] these sources focus primarily on Ontario and are already becoming dated. A couple of very useful but small bibliographies on sources in multicultural education have been prepared by Harbans Narang (among others) for the Saskatchewan Multicultural Council in 1983.[22] And an extensive list of archival sources on French Canadians in Saskatchewan was also published that year by the Saskatchewan Archives Board.[23]

There are actually relatively few commercial books specifically on Saskatchewan ethnic groups, although a wide variety of more general books on Canada do contain chapters or information on Saskatchewan. As we have mentioned, a vast array of community histories is available in archives and libraries. Almost all communities in Saskatchewan have such a written history; some communities have several — but the degree to which the history is ethnic in orientation varies along with the degree of scholarship and the presentability of each volume (they range from well-written, comprehensive, and detailed bound volumes to brief mimeographed papers prepared by local school students).

A considerable variety of research reports, monographs, and booklets focus on specific ethnic topics or groups in Saskatchewan; many are housed in archives. Also, over time some excellent graduate theses have been written by university students on diverse ethnic topics in Saskatchewan; these are available in university libraries and departments, and in archives.

Teaching guides for multicultural education tend to be Canada-wide in scope. None have been produced to date specifically on Saskatchewan, although several published recently could be of use to Saskatchewan schools.

Government publications are a useful source, for example, for immigration statistics, census data, and for information on certain commissions of inquiry, such as the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement of 1930. University libraries, as well as archives, have collections of government publications. (For more information on government records and archival sources available for multicultural research, refer to the article in this publication by Ruth Dyck Wilson.)

Since the seventies, a wide variety of academic journals concerned primarily or partially with Canadian ethnic studies has come into existence, such as *Canadian Ethnic Studies* and *Prairie Forum*; frequently they contain articles relating to Saskatchewan ethnic groups. The fall 1982 issue of *Prairie Forum* was a special theme issue — *Ethnic Studies and Research in the Prairies*.[24]

With the growth of Canadian ethnic studies, and particularly the foundation of several academic or community associations concerned with ethnic studies, several conferences a year are held, at which many papers on Saskatchewan ethnic topics have been presented (a selection of which are subsequently published in conference proceedings or as chapters in books).

Lastly, the media as a source of information on Saskatchewan ethnic topics merit mention. Numerous newspaper articles and occasional films, television and radio programmes have dealt with Saskatchewan ethnic groups — particularly the *Mosaic* series of radio broadcasts on CJUS-FM (now CHSK-FM), Saskatoon, between 1977 and 1980.

Notes

1. Alan B. Anderson, "Introduction: Prairie Ethnic Studies and Research: Review and Assessment," and "Generation Differences in Ethnic Identity Retention in Rural Saskatchewan," in Alan B. Anderson, ed., *Ethnic Studies and Research in the Prairies*, Special Issue of *Prairie Forum* 7, no. 2 (Fall 1982).
2. Aylmer Maude, *The Doukhobors: A Peculiar People* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1904).
3. J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1909).
4. J. T. M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian* (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1918).
5. John Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and its People* (Regina: S. T. Clarke, 1924), 678-681.
6. B. M. Frith, comp., *A Short History of the Wakaw District* (Wakaw Recorder, 1932), 59.
7. Robert England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929).
8. C. A. Dawson and E. R. Younge, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936).
9. W. A. Mackintosh, *Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1934), and *Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1935).
10. R. W. Murchie, *Agricultural Progress on the Prairie Frontier* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936).
11. Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931).
12. Marcel Giraud, *Le Métis canadien: Son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945).
13. Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1947).
14. Joseph W. Eaton and A. J. Mayer, *Man's Capacity to Reproduce: The Demography of a Unique Population* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1954), and Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil, *Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the Hutterites and Other Populations* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955).
15. Leo Driedger, "A Sect in Modern Society: A Case Study of the Old Colony Mennonites of Saskatchewan" (M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1955).
16. Donatien Frémont, *Les Français dans l'Ouest canadien* (Winnipeg: Editions de la Liberté, 1959).
17. Norman Ward and Duff Spafford, eds., *Politics in Saskatchewan* (Toronto: Longmans, 1968).
18. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary: Canadian Ethnic Studies Association).
19. Alan B. Anderson, "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North Central Saskatchewan: A Comparative Study of Identity Change Among Seven Ethno-Religious Groups in a Canadian Prairie Region" (Ph. D. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1972). This has been summarized in Alan B. Anderson, "Ethnic Identity in Saskatchewan Bloc Settlements," in Howard Palmer, ed., *The Settlement of the West* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1977).
20. Ved Arora, *The Saskatchewan Bibliography* (Regina: Saskatchewan Provincial Library, 1980).
21. Janet Maxwell et al., *Resource List for a Multicultural Society* (Toronto: Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1977).
22. Harbans Narang et al., *Multicultural Education and Heritage Languages* (Regina: Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan, 1984).
23. Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Guide des sources historiques des francophones de la Saskatchewan*, Saskatchewan Archives Reference Series no. 1 (Regina and Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1983).
24. Alan B. Anderson, ed., *Ethnic Studies and Research in the Prairies*, Special Issue of *Prairie Forum* (Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina) 7, no. 2 (Fall 1982).

Ethnocultural Studies Necessary for Understanding Saskatchewan's Past

Clinton O. White

Professor Anderson has given you a picture of the range of works produced and other matters respecting ethnic communities in our province. My task is to argue that additional studies are needed to enrich our understanding of at least some elements of our population and to indicate what such studies might involve.

I should begin by stating that I am not an expert on Saskatchewan ethnocultural history. Though I have read works on different ethnic groups, I have conducted detailed research involving only one, the German Catholics of St. Peter's Colony in the Muenster-Humboldt district. Not only that, I have confined my studies mainly to their primary schools.

Though limited in area, my research has led to two firm convictions. First, the study of education is very important. We cannot fully appreciate any cultural group without carefully examining its activities respecting education. The school system was to convert immigrant children into true Canadians; how people acted regarding schools tells us much about their thoughts on language, religion, and culture. Secondly, though scholars have written a fair amount on education, a great deal remains unknown. At the very least, the detailed research into available, but hitherto overlooked or under-utilized, primary sources has shown this to be true for the group I am studying. My suggestion is that the same may hold true for other ethnic groups as well.

Between 1916 and 1983 about fifteen works appeared dealing to some extent with primary education among German Catholics in St. Peter's Colony.[1] The overall picture of the situation prevailing from 1903 into the 1920s, however, remained incomplete and confusing. Did all of the colony's German Catholic children attend private schools, or did the majority go to public schools? If separate schools existed in the colony, how many were there, where were they located, and why had they been organized? Was it possible to determine actual numbers of private and separate schools in St. Peter's? Questions remained unanswered about the operation of the schools. Did the schools conform to provincial school laws? Did children receive adequate instruction regardless of the type of school attended? Were some public schools indistinguishable in operation from private schools? What specifically was taught in the various schools and who precisely did the teaching?

There were two matters on which the other writers seemed to have been in agreement. Children generally received religious instruction and they were also frequently taught in German during part of each day. No researcher questioned these ideas; according to them, many, most, or all teachers — the qualifying adjective varying from writer to writer — were of German background or at least fluent in German.

After extensive research into generally unused primary sources, a clearer picture emerged. Soon after St. Peter's began to be settled, private, public, and separate schools all appeared. Within ten years, that is by 1914, there were fourteen private and fifty public schools in the settlement area. During their first thirty years in the area, Catholics set up only two separate schools and they did so mainly because of Protestant actions. Humboldt Catholics created theirs when local Protestants broke an agreement and elected an all-Protestant public school board. Watson Catholics did so when their public school teacher married a local Orangeman. A conclusion to be drawn is that by 1914, probably as early as 1907, most children were attending public institutions.

What were the children taught and who was teaching them? The weight of evidence suggests that practically all schools used the provincial curriculum. The major variations follow. In private schools, pupils also received substantial religious instruction and a bilingual education. Their first teachers were German-American male colonists who were soon replaced by other German Americans, usually female teachers educated in the United States. Shortly before World War I, Ursuline Sisters began to serve in the private schools. Also appearing were children of the colonists, again usually women. Contrary to what is sometimes suggested, Benedictine priests taught school practically only in emergencies. The separate and public school situation was different. While pupils might receive a half-hour of religious instruction each day — some received none — only a few received any instruction in German, even as a subject of study. Their teachers, with few exceptions, did not know German. Insofar as there was a typical teacher in the colony's public schools, that teacher was an Irish Catholic, and as of about 1911, an Irish-Catholic woman from Ontario, Quebec, or the Maritimes. The situation within the colony does not support the idea that English-speaking teachers avoided foreign districts. Such teachers came and often stayed for more than one year.

While establishing the foregoing picture of education in St. Peter's, the position of German Catholics on certain important matters became clear. For example, while some favoured private schools, a greater number for a variety of reasons were ready to adopt the public school. Many of the latter believed that the half-hour of religious instruction permitted in public schools was sufficient for their children. It was also evident that from the very beginning of settlement a substantial number of settlers was prepared to do without the teaching or use of German in their schools.

Why then did researchers supply us with an incomplete or inaccurate picture of the school situation in St. Peter's? I hesitate to raise this matter since I do not know the full answer, but I do so in order to provide you with a partial answer which could well prove useful to you.

I believe that scholars have relied too heavily on easily accessible documentary evidence created during World War I — on statements made and accounts printed at that time by persons regarded as reputable and knowledgeable. These statements and accounts appear to have been taken as not only describing an existing situation but as summing up the development of the preceding dozen years. Having relied on this evidence, researchers gave short shrift to documentary evidence created in earlier times. Two things can be learned from this. First, one must be very careful when using documents created during wartime relating to non-Anglo-Saxon peoples, especially to those classed as enemy aliens. Secondly, one must also realize that even reputable and knowledgeable people may at times permit their emotions to cloud their vision. Permit me to give you an example of an individual whom scholars, and not simply those dealing with German Catholics, have often cited as an authority.

During World War I, the Reverend E. H. Oliver often wrote and spoke on education among immigrant populations. His credentials were excellent: head of a theological college and prominent in the Better Schools movement. One of his publications included an account of a wartime tour of private schools in the Humboldt area. After describing visits to three of them, he continued:

> Then late in the afternoon I struck east to St. Henry. I wanted to see why they insisted upon having a public school. You can see the little school as you drive along the road. The flag-pole, which with its fluttering ensign makes silent conquest of non-English communities in other districts and wins to Canadian citizenship stood piteously deserted and bent. The fence was dilapidated, the yard overgrown with weeds. One half mile up the road is a little store and across the road Dead Moose Lake parish school, a fine imposing new structure with, I understand, German speaking teachers, and recently added, one that could speak English. "How is it," I inquired of the grocer, "that you have two schools?" "We have only one school," he replied. "What about the public schools down the road?" "We just gave up using it and sent in word to the secretary-treasurer of the municipality not to collect any taxes." In a word, ... these good people deorganize a school district and in the very same place erect a private school which inspectors may not enter, and to which regulations regarding language do not extend.[2]

As near as I can establish, practically every word of Oliver's statement is literally true; but it is also misleading. If one examines such sources as school district records in the Saskatchewan Archives, records held by St. Peter's Abbey Archives or the Ursuline Sisters, and various local newspapers, one obtains quite a different picture. The situation at Dead Moose Lake was unique in the colony. It was the only place where a private school replaced a public one. True, there were three teachers — two German-speaking and one English-speaking — at the school when Oliver passed through, but instruction was never solely in German. During the dozen years a school had existed there, its teachers were bilingual, except when it had been a public school and the teaching had been only in English. The two German-speaking teachers were Ursuline Nuns. They had just come to the area and had opened their new school on January 7, 1915. Four days earlier a woman of German-American ancestry, Mary Pastors, had joined them, intending to enter their order. Pastors, born in Wisconsin, held a teaching certificate from that state. She had also taught in the colony's private schools. Daily study programmes in her handwriting suggest that she had a solid command of English and was a competent teacher. If what seems to have been Ursuline practice was followed — and I do not see why it would not have been — Pastors would have taught all or practically all of the programme given in English. If a sister less proficient in English had to teach in that language, it would likely have been in arithmetic where a good command of English was deemed less necessary.

Oliver also expressed concern about the Canadianization of immigrant children taught by German-speaking teachers such as the nuns at Dead Moose Lake. Evidence, which time does not permit me to discuss, suggests that his fears might have been eliminated had he become acquainted with them. But he did not even meet them. His tour of the district on that occasion consisted of a day-long, forty-five mile buggy ride and little more.

People who have produced works on education in St. Peter's Colony have generally examined commentaries by individuals like Oliver which appeared in the press or were otherwise published during the war. In some cases, they have also delved into ministerial papers and Department of Education records such as school inspectors' reports, but seldom have they referred to documents dated prior to 1915. Only a few have cited such records as, for example, a local newspaper going back to the early years of settlement. Unfortunately, those who have indicated the use of such sources have failed to examine them thoroughly and have overlooked much valuable information.

To conclude, I will now dwell briefly on my own studies and the sources upon which I have relied very heavily. I began my work some years ago with the idea of producing a paper on private and separate schools in St. Peter's, about which little seemed to be known. But I soon discovered that I was working in a relative vacuum — I could not understand developments without examining public schools as well. Having reached that decision, I concluded that I had first to determine precisely which schools I would have to research. That led to the examination of a large body of generally unexploited primary source material in the Saskatchewan Archives.

My first step was to obtain two maps — one of the colony and another of all public school districts in that part of the province. When I had superimposed one on the other, I was able to identify all of the districts which were wholly, or partly, within the colony. Examination of the separate school register, indicated where and when such schools had been set up in St. Peter's. It was then a simple but very time-consuming task to examine the Archives' collection of Department of Education School District files — there were about one hundred and twenty districts in the colony. The effort was well worthwhile. The files contained correspondence, documents relating to the formation of districts, names and trustees, the religious affiliation of ratepayers, various references to private schools, and other data in some cases from as early as 1904. On the basis of the information obtained I could generally determine whether a public school district had been settled essentially by German Catholics or by people of different ethnic or religious backgrounds. I also learned where and when disputes involving education had arisen and who taught in each school on a year to year basis from about the time it opened until the Depression. With the names of teachers, I turned to the "Inactive Teachers Register Sheets" and obtained information on their origins, backgrounds, training, and movements. I should, perhaps, point out that the school files at times led me to additional information in other archival collections.

Having examined the foregoing, I searched through all surviving editions of the English-language newspapers, *Humboldt Journal* and *Watson Witness*, to 1932. No great volume of new information was uncovered except for references to teachers in certain private schools, dates when school terms began or ended, numbers of pupils completing various grades, and the like. But the exercise was useful in that it gave me a better overall view of the colony's development and the attitudes of people toward various matters, including education.

Having completed much of my research at the Saskatchewan Archives, I proceeded to other locations to determine what additional early records had been preserved. St. Peter's Abbey Archives at Muenster possessed a wealth of resources, and the Ursuline Sisters at Bruno, some exceedingly valuable material. For example, the Abbey had a file on the major school dispute involving German Catholics, the private correspondence of a priest exceedingly active in educational matters from 1904 onward, and photographs very useful in establishing certain details respecting the operation of both private and public schools. The Ursulines had a diary detailing the activities of a sister and various other individuals in the colony from the time before the arrival of the Ursuline Order to about 1920. The insights it provided into education in St. Peter's Colony are simply too numerous to relate. Other institutions possessing some documents were the Humboldt Land Titles Office, certain municipal offices, the Humboldt School Division Office, and the University of Saskatchewan Archives. Individuals residing in the colony were also interviewed from time to time and not infrequently produced old photographs and, on occasion, other useful records which merited reproduction and placement in the St. Peter's Abbey Archives. At present, as time permits, I am gradually working my way through the colony's German-language newspaper, *St. Peters Bote* and, with the aid of persons better versed in German than I, am obtaining translations of various entries. I am also examining local histories which have appeared in recent years. The *Bote* has proven especially informative and local histories should prove useful in various ways.

On the basis of the firsthand information I obtained by examining generally unused, primary sources such as I have mentioned, I have begun reinterpreting the history of education in the colony. In so doing, I have shown how circumstances of settlement and different attitudes among German Catholics on such matters as religious instruction and use of the German language played vital roles in the development of educational facilities. I have also been able to explain when, where, and why various schools of each type were set up, who promoted their establishment, which subjects were taught, and to make sense of any conflicts their creation produced. Among other things, I was also able to demonstrate and account for an early, rapid rise and then a gradual decline in the number of private schools, and explain why there were very few separate schools.

Very useful in enabling me to interpret developments in St. Peter's Colony were tables I was able to create using the detailed information I had come to possess. One such table deals with the establishment, operation, and closure of schools serving German Catholics in the area between 1903 and 1932. It shows how many schools of each type were organized each year, how many of each type operated each year, and how many closed in any given year. Other tables covering a period of years indicate who taught in each school. From them, one can determine how long individual teachers stayed in the districts inhabited by German Catholics and also work out such things as the ratio of male to female teachers employed each year. When such information is supplemented with data contained in the "Teachers Register Sheets," one can make what I believe to be accurate judgements on the ethnic background, place of origin, and religion of those who taught in the colony's schools. Finally, because I examined school files covering the entire colony, I have been able to make certain tentative judgements as to how well German Catholics operated their schools as compared to people of other ethnic and religious origins.

Notes

1. See Clinton O. White, "Education Among German Catholic Settlers in Saskatchewan, 1903-1918: A Reinterpretation," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XVI, no. 1 (1984): 78-95 for a more direct review of these other studies.
2. Edmund H. Oliver, *The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: The Saturday Press and Prairie Farm, 1915), 11.

Multiculturalism and Prairie Media

Brenda Zeman

The first thing to consider in a presentation of this type is the "focus," or thesis on which one's contribution is based. I have chosen to examine the absence of visible minorities in media positions in Saskatchewan. My concern is that visible minorities are often invisible in the media because so few are working in mainstream journalism. In other words, what you see and hear on the street and in rural Saskatchewan is not necessarily what you get in print, on television, or on radio. In dealing with the absence of visible minorities in Saskatchewan media, examples of ethnic stereotyping will also be discussed.

I am using the phrase "visible minority" advisedly to mean "people of colour." Like all bureaucratically imposed phrases, it is not a perfect choice. In no way do I mean to "ghettoize" people of colour; it is simply used as a convenience.

Three years ago I returned to Saskatchewan to begin a new phase in my life as a "freelancer." Initially, that meant I did a variety of work for very little money! I had to find stories that were different from the ones staff people were doing. Luckily for me, that was easy. Very few of the staff writers or broadcasters seemed to be interested in doing the kinds of stories I wanted most to do: stories off the beaten media track.

My object was to "do" anthropology in the journalistic mode; I had come home to be a participant-observer in my own culture. What I discovered was a frontier. Editors very rarely said "no" to my ideas and seemed genuinely interested in subsequent stories. This is not to say I did not meet with some curious responses, which indicated the lack of exposure of some members of the established media to contemporary multicultural themes.

Finally, after experiencing the ultimate in Saskatchewan culture — co-authorship of a book on the history of hockey — I decided it was time to get into the system. Once in, I saw there were basically two kinds of people: the old-timers with limited formal education, and fairly recent university graduates with degrees in journalism. There were a few, like me, who had somehow, perhaps out of sheer persistence, slipped in the backdoor.

For the first time since I left Aden Bowman High School in Saskatoon fifteen years before, I found myself in an almost "lily-white" working environment. As I looked further, I discovered that Dan David, a Mohawk Indian from Quebec, is the only person of colour on television in Saskatchewan and that there are very few visible minorities represented on the CBC, CTV, or on the privates in visible positions. These circumstances on Canadian television and the stories we read in the paper day after day do not reflect what I see in the street — the new wave of Canadian immigrants from non-European backgrounds as well as the swelling urban Native population. Why is this so? It is true that people of colour can apply for these jobs just as readily as white people. But how many people even consider doing things when they never see anyone who looks like them or comes from their background doing those very things? Is it not logical to assume if hiring boards rarely see visible minorities in positions of responsibility (i.e., an anchorperson), board members might conclude that these people are not capable of holding such positions? Is it not possible that the public might believe the same?

Today, most of the new media positions are being filled by journalism graduates. In the past, visible minorities have not been keen on pursuing journalism careers because future employment did not seem realistic in most cases.

The fact that new media positions are being filled by graduates of journalism poses a problem. First of all, the question must be asked: why is a journalism degree necessary in most cases? A year and a half ago I recall a conversation I had with Matthew Fisher, a sports journalist with a fine arts degree. He said his father, Doug Fisher, an Ottawa journalist, told him "... to study anything but journalism and bring that different perspective to whatever you do in journalism." I may be biased on that point, but if a journalism degree is necessary, what can be done in the meantime until enough skilled visible minorities have journalism degrees in hand?

On a somewhat positive note, the CBC has had a fledgling visible minority training programme for television. But Dan David is the only one out of eight graduates consistently on television (and not as an "ethnic" reporter).

Anthropologist and market-researcher Martin Goldfarb says, "the role of the media is to make people see themselves reflected in it so they'll buy it." That is one reason why a mainstream perspective is usually given and a minority perspective is often ignored. What is the effect?

Since my first love was anthropology and my second, journalism, I decided to do a little "investigative fieldwork." When I asked the following people about the present situation, they offered answers more poignant than I could hope to offer.

> *A Pakistani Man*: All you hear about us is that we have the atomic bomb and that people get drugs from Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan.... It makes me mad when people say, "Oh, you're from northern India." Twenty million people got killed over the partition and people here don't even know about it! ... We'll see people of colour on TV in five or ten years.

> *A Jamaican Woman*: When I first came to Saskatoon twelve years ago, judging by the media, it looked as though George Reed was the only Black person in Saskatchewan. It is still mostly that way. You have to be in sports — and that's mostly Black men.... It makes me feel small, like we're nobody. We have a long history behind us but nobody knows us.

> *A Vietnamese Man*: I do not think they say very much about us; maybe once a year. I think the media can help but some Vietnamese don't like to talk. They like to withdraw because they fear for their families in Vietnam. Still, it makes me sad when I only see white people on T.V. When my English improves, I will write articles in the newspaper.

> *A Black South African Man*: As a newcomer, one gets the impression through the media that there are only whites in Saskatchewan and no Natives. It is a false and distorted impression. Canada as a whole gives the impression (through the media) that only whites are important.... I was disappointed at the stereotyping. I expect things like that in South Africa, but I didn't expect it in Canada. Yet, people in Saskatchewan as a whole know this is wrong because the majority of people here are not Anglo-Saxon and come from various ethnic groups.

A Non-Status Native Woman: I would like to see more Natives in the media but as journalists they may be biased; on the other hand, I saw a story recently in print where the white journalist missed the point entirely in his story about a problem a Native family had.... Anything I read or see, I am going to check it out. I want to know the stats. I want to know what is happening because I am aware of the "divide and conquer" approach. I look at who it is directed at.

In closing, I would like to discuss why Canadians lose when visible minorities are ignored or stereotyped in the media. It comes down to the notion of "journalistic objectivity": the present definition is a mainstream one without the nuance and texture of cultural and social variety. Objectivity for whom? When we do not include everyone in our pursuit of objectivity (and maybe all we can ever hope for is fairness), we accept a distorted image of who we are and what we are to become as Canadians.

Hiring visible minorities into media positions is only part of the solution to the problem. Those journalists already in the system or in schools of journalism across the country must be prepared to admit there are many ways of seeing a story unfold — and of telling it.

Tibetan refugees arriving at the Saskatoon Airport, March 1972. Saskatchewan Archives Board, Star-Phoenix Collection, S-SP-B7080-6. Permission to publish this photograph is gratefully acknowledged.

Preserving Ethnocultural Records at the Saskatchewan Archives Board

Ruth Dyck Wilson

A coffee mug designed by an entrepreneurial archivist for the Association of Canadian Archivists' meeting held in Toronto in June of 1984 includes the words of Arthur Doughty, Dominion Archivist from 1904 to 1939 — words which underscore the vital importance of archives to our country and society.

> Of all national assets, Archives are the most precious; they are the gift of one generation to another and the extent of our care of them marks the extent of our civilization.

In speaking about the archival resources of our own province we must not be less definite; we must appreciate their great value and work together to add to those resources already available. Furthermore, in a society as ethnically diverse as that of Saskatchewan, what must be preserved are the archives of those who make up the over 190 ethnic groups listed in the 1981 census. The numbers range from over 227,000 for those designated as English to 5 for those designated as Macedonian, and Iranian. Thus all groups are not equally represented in Saskatchewan; some have been here for over two hundred years and others for less than ten; some are scattered across the province and others are concentrated in one region or another. All make up our society and evidence of their lives and contributions must be preserved.

What are these archives which are of such vital importance to us? My husband and I are both archivists at the Saskatchewan Archives Board and have been confused with artists, architects, archaeologists, anarchists, and even with aardvarks. The word, "archives," is, however, not a difficult one. Archives are those records which have been created in the course of the day-to-day activities of an individual, an organization, or a government and which have been preserved because of their on-going value. The word is also used to refer to an institution which has as its mandate the preservation of such records and documents.

Age does not define the archival document. Archival institutions collect records which document the lives of individuals and the activities of organizations and governments from the time of their origins, but archival repositories also collect on a systematic basis, records being created now. These will, of course, document our present generation for those in the future.

Archival documents are often unique; that is, they exist in one copy only. Although modern technology has made duplication of records easier and cheaper than ever, letters of individuals, diaries, minutes of organizations often still exist in one copy only. Thus the destruction of these records results in the permanent loss of information of great significance to the history and the cultural life of the province.

Format does not define the archival document. Archival documents include paper documents, photographs, architectural drawings, film, sound recordings, video tapes, and computer tapes.

Where is the evidence which documents Saskatchewan's multicultural heritage? That part of the evidence available for research is found throughout the Canadian archival system. Much more of the evidence is still found in attics, basements, and filing cabinets in Saskatchewan homes and offices and still in active government files. To begin, where would one look for records relating to Saskatchewan within the Canadian archival system?

Both the Public Archives of Canada and the Saskatchewan Archives Board would have information relating to ethnocultural groups in the province. The Public Archives of Canada documents the role of the federal government. Thus records relating to immigration, citizenship, defence, and Native matters — even though they relate to people and events in Saskatchewan — would fall under the jurisdiction of the Canadian government and the responsibility for the preservation of these records, therefore, would be that of the Public Archives of Canada. The Public Archives also collects records relating to individuals, clubs, and associations of national significance. The Saskatchewan Archives collects records of the government of Saskatchewan and records relating to the work of the provincial government are transferred to the Saskatchewan Archives on a continuing basis through a system of records schedules. The Saskatchewan Archives Board also has the mandate, according to its Act, "to acquire ... printed documents, records,

Hulda Swedberg, a Swedish-American immigrant in her farm kitchen in the Marchwell district, 1906. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A4809.

private papers and any other material ... having a bearing on the history of Saskatchewan."[1] Among the provincial government records available at the Saskatchewan Archives Board, I would like to highlight only three.

Each "Homestead file" documents portions of land, usually individual quarter-sections, settled under the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act and the Saskatchewan homestead regulations. Files often document very basic information on each settler such as land location, age, country of birth, nationality, previous place of residence, and duties performed in complying with the homestead regulations. Taken together, they can provide interesting information on ethnocultural community settlements.

The Department of Education School District files document the setting up and the year-to-year operation of each school district in the province. The departmental administration files include information on language rights, teacher-training schools for foreign-language communities, and private schools, for example.

The records of commissions and special committees document issues of interest to multicultural research. Such records include those of the Commission of 1908 to inquire into the private schools in certain Mennonite settlements in the Hague, Osler, and Warman districts; the Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement of 1930 to inquire into the effects of immigration on the economic and social well-being of the province and the growth and development of natural resources, among other questions; and the Committee to inquire into the instruction in languages other than English in 1966.

It is the second category of records at the Saskatchewan Archives Board — the papers of individuals and the records of clubs and organizations — on which I wish to focus. This is the portion of the historical evidence whose preservation and accessibility to research depends most directly on the cooperation between the Saskatchewan Archives and those who create, collect, or inherit these records.

Photographs are an integral part of the records of most individuals and societies and thus I am using photographs to introduce these records. The first photograph is that of Hulda Swedberg standing in the kitchen of her Marchwell, Saskatchewan home about 1906. She was the daughter of a Swedish American settler who came to this district from Minnesota in 1903. From the photograph, you can see her and the items in her kitchen — the stove, the coffee pot, the coffee grinder, the calendar on the wall. This photograph has frozen one moment in time and from it we can learn certain things about her life. The photograph, however, raises many more questions than it answers — why did they leave the United States and come to Marchwell, what was her reaction to her new home, what did she do from day to day, how did she cope with the isolation and lack of services, what was her interaction with members of her own ethnocultural community or neighbours of other backgrounds, and which Swedish traditions were still a part of her daily life? Questions like these can only be answered through the letters which were exchanged between families, through the diaries in which daily entries were made, through the reminiscences which evaluate experiences and lives from a distance, and through the oral history interviews which record life histories and the stories and

Father Bourdel, founder of Howell, now Prud'homme, ploughing a field in the front of the convent of the Filles de la Providence, ca. 1905. Les Filles de la Providence Collection. Permission to publish this photograph is gratefully acknowledged. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A23,027.

songs — the oral tradition — which are an integral part of an individual's life.

In the Saskatchewan Archives there is no diary belonging to Hulda Swedberg but there is a diary of another woman, Valgerthur Stephanson, an Icelandic settler in the Wynyard district, which demonstrates the richness of a diary as a historical source. The diary begins in the Icelandic language in 1913 but soon turns to English and covers the period to 1944. Taking only two pages from the diary as an example, we learn about their farming operations, births in the community, the establishment of hospital facilities in the home of Paul Bjarnason in Wynyard, the visit of family members, the treatment of sick horses, the visit of King George and Queen Elizabeth to Canada, the harvesting of the garden, and about interaction with their neighbours.[2] Essential for family history, this diary taken together with other records of this type, would contribute immeasurably to the understanding of the Icelandic community in the Wynyard area. Diaries, an inherently private record, are often a very honest and accurate reflection of events and reactions to these events.

Also important are the private papers of individuals whose lives have brought them in contact with issues of concern to ethnocultural groups as a whole — education, language, immigration — and those who were the spokesmen for their groups at different times. In the preface to his memoirs, for example, Raymond Denis writes about the circumstances which led him to take an active part in all of the struggles for French-language rights in Saskatchewan between 1910 and 1950. The four-volume memoirs bring to life the people and the events which were part of the struggle for French-language education and broadcasting in this province.[3] Records such as these are often written in the language of origin and in describing one person's life, they document the aims and activities of the ethnocultural group of which the individual is a part.

Church records are vital for the understanding of many of Saskatchewan's ethnocultural groups. The photograph of Father Bourdel, founder of the present community of Prud'homme, shows him ploughing the field in front of the original convent of Les Filles de la Providence. This Order came to Prince Albert from France in 1897 and stayed to serve, among others, the communities of St. Brieux, Prud'homme and St. Louis. This evocative photograph from the Filles de la Providence Collection already illustrates the isolation and the hard work of the early church workers. How much more information is available in the diaries and letters of the church leaders and the records of the various denominations which were involved in promoting immigration and settlement. Equally important are the records of church leaders, church schools, and organizations which played an important role in

Executive members of the Regina Chapter of the Deutschcanadischer Verband von Saskatchewan, ca. 1928. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B11,258.

maintaining the original language and traditions of the immigrants.

The Saskatchewan Archives Board has agreements with the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches and has on microfilm records of many French Roman Catholic parishes. Other churches have established their own Archives — Baptist, Lutheran, and Mennonite, for example. There must be concern that the records of the small rural churches — many of which are being closed and which very often served the neighbouring ethnocultural community — be preserved.

Many ethnocultural clubs and societies have flourished and continue to be established in order to promote and co-ordinate cultural activities, to safeguard the rights and privileges of their members, to preserve their language, and to promote friendship with other groups. The photograph of the Executive of the Regina Chapter of the Deutschcanadischer Verband von Saskatchewan was taken about 1928. Originally established in March of 1913, the Verband had disbanded toward the end of the First World War and had been reorganized in 1924 after which it "continued to stress the retention of the German language at home and in the school system."[4] From the accompanying documentation, we can identify the individuals in this group — Adolf Fuhrmann, owner of a meat market, Theodore Schmitz, owner of the Metropole hotel, Bernhard Bott, editor of the German-language newspaper published in Regina, *Der Courier*, as well as others active as barbers, plumbers, painters, realtors, and tailors in Regina. Only, however, with more complete records — including minutes, membership lists over an extended period of time, programmes and pamphlets advertising special activities — can the work of an organization truly be recognized, understood, and evaluated. The records of the Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan — the co-sponsors of this conference — have been deposited at the Saskatchewan Archives from the time of its establishment in 1975 and now attention must be turned to the records of the regional councils and their affiliated organizations.

Business records are being preserved at the Saskatchewan Archives to make it possible to study the immigrant in the working and economic environment of the province. These records provide important information on family involvement in small businesses and on the role of these businesses in the communities they served. Records such as the minutes, correspondence, and financial records of the Caisse populaire in Albertville; letters and invoices of Isaac Loewen's General Store in Osler; and the advertisements of the Arthur Rose Dry Cleaning Company are some examples.

There are many other types of records available at the Saskatchewan Archives for ethnocultural research — weekly, daily and religious newspapers, maps, directories, architectural drawings, local histories, oral history interviews, films, and video tapes. These records are preserved at the Saskatchewan Archives in a controlled and secure environment. There are also other repositories in Saskatchewan; records are housed in museum archives, library and community archives, institutional archives, university archives, and church archives, for example. All of these archives acquire, arrange and describe materials, store and preserve them, and make them available for research according to their own policies and resources. Some information on archives in Saskatchewan is available in the *Directory of Canadian Archives*.[5] Also the staff of the Saskatchewan Archives is always happy to refer researchers to the archives appropriate to their research needs.

Other papers in this publication have outlined briefly the use of original records in all types of research and have demonstrated that through the publication of books, articles, and newspapers, and through radio and television, information from these records is made accessible to vast audiences. How do these records relating to the ethnocultural communities make their way into the Saskatchewan Archives? Our staff members come in contact with many individuals and groups — with researchers visiting, telephoning, and writing to our two offices. Archivists travel around the province and are often guest speakers at seminars, meetings, and banquets. The members of the staff each have their own social, cultural, and/or religious affiliations which they strive to document. Records have been and are being collected in more systematic ways.

For several years the Sound and Moving Image Section of the Saskatchewan Archives contracted out oral history projects on a variety of subject areas. Examples include: "Biographies of Two Metis Society Founders, Norris and Brady," 107 taped interviews collected in 1976-1977 by Murray Dobbin; "Scottish Cultural Survival in Saskatchewan: St. Andrew's Colony," 14 taped interviews collected in 1979 on religion, folklore, music, and the Gaelic language by Allan Campbell; "Early Polish Settlers and the Church," 19 taped interviews collected in 1981 by Andrzej Kostecki; and "Mennonite Pastors in the Big River Area" by Anna Thiessen, 8 taped interviews collected in 1980. The importance of the life stories of those whose lives would otherwise have remained unrecorded cannot be overemphasized. At the same time, the contacts with individuals were used to collect other documentation relating to their lives and communities.

In the summer of 1982, the Saskatchewan Archives organized a four-month summer collection project to collect records on a limited subject area by using extra funding available through the federal government summer employment programme. With the cooperation of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, a student was hired, potential donors of informants were identified, and important records were collected — records of the Volklieder-Chor-Harmonie and the German-language school, reminiscences of a number of families — and oral history interviews were recorded. Since four months is a short time for such a collection project, continuing cooperation between the Archives and the AHSGR is essential.

Records have been collected through formal agreements or in cooperation with societies and religious organizations. Please refer to the article by Dr. André Lalonde outlining the impact which the joint planning of the Société historique de la Saskatchewan and the Saskatchewan Archives has had on collection and research in the French community since 1979. This cooperation has resulted in collections of church records, school records, diaries, letters, reminiscences, local and family histories, architectural drawings, minutes of organizations, oral history interviews, and well over one thousand photographs.

Cooperation with the Mennonite Historical Society of Saskatchewan and Alberta has led to the preservation of significant collections from the Saskatchewan Valley region north of Saskatoon. A Culture and Heritage Resources Survey undertaken by the Society in 1979 revealed important archival materials to be preserved. Since most of those contacted were not willing to part with their records, arrangements were made with the Saskatchewan Archives to microfilm personal papers, such as the Cornelius Hein Papers which relate to his life and work in the Osler district, 1895-1957, business records such as those of the Mennonite Mutual Fire Insurance Company, 1896-1972, and to reproduce many photographs. Again, the result of this collaboration was the long-term preservation of information and its accessibility to researchers at both the Saskatchewan Archives Board and the Archives of the Society at Rosthern Junior College.

A joining together of resources and expertise available at the Saskatchewan Archives with the specialized interests and expertise of members of voluntary organizations has resulted in the preservation of significant collections of records documenting this province's multicultural heritage. Similarly the Saskatchewan Archives Board and other archival institutions have cooperated in collecting and disseminating information in this subject area. The Public Archives of Canada has made available to Saskatchewan on microfilm, copies of many Immigration Branch Records relating to Western Canada. As well, contacts have been established with archivists from the National Ethnic Archives programme of the Public Archives. A closer and more formalized working relationship between the Saskatchewan Archives and the National Ethnic Archives could only benefit both programmes.

The Saskatchewan Archives has worked with local museum archives in microfilming records where the originals remain in the community and copying photographs of provincial significance to add to the permanent collections in Regina and Saskatoon. Also local museum archives have donated records to the Saskatchewan Archives when local storage conditions were not conducive to the long-term preservation of often fragile documents. For example, the Saskatchewan Archives is working with the National Doukhobor Heritage Village of Veregin. The Museum has transferred some of its original photographic holdings to the Saskatchewan Archives in exchange for quality prints for the Museum displays. The Saskatchewan Archives continues to work closely with the Broadview and Maple Creek Museums, for example, and has just begun to work with the Whitewood Museum. This collaboration has resulted in the donation of a collection of Hungarian letters and the loan for copying of an early immigration ledger.

Finally, those working in archives share their expertise through meetings, seminars, and workshops; there is a committee in place now to consider the establishment of an on-going association of those working in archives in Saskatchewan. Members of the Saskatchewan Archives staff have been invited to visit archival institutions to consult on the arrangement and preservation of records.

There is an inherent privacy to many of the records outlined in this paper — the personal papers and the organizational records. It is not enough, therefore, that an archives advertise that it is collecting such documentation. A personal contact and trust must first develop between those who have the records and those who wish to collect them for purposes of long-term preservation and research. Those who have the records must have confidence that the long-term preservation and security of their papers can be guaranteed. They will be interested in learning about the research potential of these records and will want to decide whether they wish to restrict access to their papers in any way. They should be informed that receipts for tax purposes can be offered in certain areas in return for the donation of records. Individuals and organizations have to be informed that provisions can be made for their records to be loaned for copying and that the originals can remain in the family or a local repository. Thus, personal contact with the potential donor is almost a prerequisite.

How then can the vast variety of materials available in homes and offices be collected and preserved? The above examples lead to at least one obvious conclusion: the larger the network of those interested in and committed to the preservation of this documentary heritage, the more that can be accomplished.

The Saskatchewan Archives relies on the assistance of members of the academic community. Often in the course of their specialized research, they come in contact with the papers of individuals and the records of groups and organizations which are not being preserved. A simple introduction of the owner of the records to a member of the Archives staff can very easily be made if the researcher is not wishing to serve as intermediary. In the same way, members of the media come in contact with large numbers of individuals and groups over the course of the year. An awareness of the importance of preserving documentary heritage could again lead to the preservation of significant records.

I see another great potential for collection in Saskatchewan — a network of regional Multicultural Councils and, supporting them, many cultural organizations. I visualize a heritage coordinator within each of the regional Councils who would work with the Saskatchewan Archives in coordinating a survey of potential records in each area, in coordinating seminars of interest to the community — on record-keeping in voluntary organizations, oral history, local history, for example — and in preparing the way for the preservation of records documenting the various ethnocultural groups. The potential of such a network working across the province to preserve the documentary heritage of ethnocultural groups in various regions is most exciting. I look forward to exploring these ideas with the Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan and with other interested Saskatchewan residents and organizations. Keeping in mind that any projects must be carefully planned to avoid confusion and the overextension of resources, we must realize the potential of cooperation and work together in new ways to preserve those records which document this province's multicultural heritage.

Notes

1. An Act Respecting the Archives of Saskatchewan, 1978, c. A-26, s. 12.
2. Valgerthur Stephanson Diary, July 26, 1938-July 5, 1939, Valgerthur Stephanson Papers, R-482, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.
3. "Mes mémoires: copie du manuscrit," ca. 1962, Raymond Denis Papers, R-500.13, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.
4. Kurt Tischler, "The German Canadians in Saskatchewan With Particular Reference to the Language Problem, 1900-1930" (M. A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1978), 132.
5. Judith Beattie et al., eds., *Directory of Canadian Archives* (Bureau of Canadian Archivists, ca. 1980).

Ethnic Archival Resources at the Western Development Museums

Warren Clubb

Museums are a valuable source of information for the student of multiculturalism. The Saskatchewan Western Development Museums, with branches at Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, North Battleford and Yorkton, contain a great deal of relevant material for the researcher of ethnic studies in this province.

With headquarters in Saskatoon, the Western Development Museums have a mandate to document and exhibit the human history of Saskatchewan from 1870 to the present. This includes the era of agricultural settlement in the province. When one thinks of the Western Development Museums, one probably remembers its collection of steam engines that reflects the early settlement era. We do have many steam engines; in addition, we have many other artifacts that tell other stories. Our collection contains over sixty thousand artifacts in total.

Each branch of the Museum system has its particular theme: Yorkton's theme is "The Story of the People," North Battleford concentrates on "The Story of Agriculture," Moose Jaw's focus is "The Story of Transportation," while Saskatoon's theme is "The Story of Western Development." Two of these themes — the Yorkton and North Battleford ones — deal more specifically with multiculturalism.

The Yorkton branch features period rooms: two American, two Ukrainian, and one each of German, Swedish and English, as well as a pioneer room and a trapper's cabin. These rooms attempt to recreate parts of the homes established by different immigrant groups on their arrival in Saskatchewan during the great settlement period from 1896 to 1929. The rooms exhibit distinctive furniture, clothing, and crafts. The intent of the exhibit is that visitors appreciate what the immigrant groups brought with them and understand group differences. The exhibits are not comprehensive; some groups have been excluded because the Museum does not have enough artifacts of these groups to create a display.

In North Battleford, the 1920s prairie village provides further opportunity for multicultural study. There are four churches in the village, two Roman Catholic, one Greek Orthodox and one Anglican. In addition there is a French-Canadian home and a Ukrainian home. These buildings contain authentic furnishings and clothing, and provide an understanding of the traditions and religious beliefs of these immigrant groups.

These branches are, of course, open to the public. The Yorkton branch is open seven days a week throughout the year. North Battleford is open only in the summer, as the village is not heated during the winter months. To assist visitors, the Museum offers interpretive programming at various levels.

One of these programmes is the publication of teachers' handbooks. There are handbooks for each grade at the branches, totalling forty-eight handbooks for the entire Museum system. Four of the handbooks reflect multicultural themes: "The Great Migration," (Yorkton, year four); "The Canadian Cultural Mosaic and Immigration Today," (Yorkton, year twelve); "The Canadian Cultural Mosaic and Western Canadian Settlement," (North Battleford, year nine); and "The Canadian Cultural Mosaic and Western Canadian Settlement," (Saskatoon, year eight).[1]

Each handbook has the same structure; each is designed to be used by teachers to prepare their classes for a visit to the Museum and relates to the specific artifacts the students will encounter. For example, "The Great Migration" outlines its themes and objectives, one of which is to familiarize students with the concept of multiculturalism. It provides background information on settlement in Saskatchewan and the immigrant groups that came here. It has a bibliography and a list of audio-visual aids for the teacher. It provides a list of activities for the students, including preparing a family tree, doing a crossword puzzle, or making a meal using "ethnic" recipes — American corn bread, *apfelkuchen* or bannock. The handbook is designed to enhance the students' enjoyment and learning experience at the Museum.

In addition to the artifacts on display in the four branches, there are artifacts in storage at our provincial headquarters in Saskatoon. These include clothing, furniture, tools, and crafts. An examination of these artifacts reveals many interesting aspects of ethnicity. To see the artifacts in storage one must make an appointment beforehand.

The artifacts are only half of what the Museum can offer the student of multiculturalism. The other half is documentary material, which falls into three categories: artifact files, photographs, and manuscripts.

Files are maintained for each artifact in the Museum's collection. Each file contains information on the artifact's acquisition and history. The history could be the history of the artifact (where it was built, how and who built it), or the history of the owner (how he used it, his background and occupation). Of course, not every artifact file contains the same types of information, and in nearly forty years of collecting, we have acquired some artifacts on which we have little or no information. If one wants to know what is available, one should contact the Collections Department at our headquarters in Saskatoon. The staff there will examine the file and provide one with the relevant information from it. Since the files are confidential, the public cannot have access to them. We have a three-foot piece of wood with a large hook on one end and a ring on the other. We did not know how it worked until we examined the file and found a photograph of the stump puller in action.

Photographs are another useful documentary source. Photographs can provide researchers with information on clothing styles, interior and exterior building styles, the economic status of individuals, the extent of their isolation, the extent of their integration into the community, and other information. Like a document, a photograph will reveal as much as the researcher asks of it: the better the questions, the more the photograph reveals.

The Museums have approximately four thousand photographs arranged in seven subject categories. The largest subject holding is agriculture with twelve hundred photographs. The subject classification "family living," including scenes of homesteading and daily tasks, comprises approximately two hundred photographs. Recently we have completed a cross-reference index by geographic location, making the photograph collection easier to use. The collection is held in our Library. To use it, one must call the Research Department at our headquarters in Saskatoon and make an appointment first.

The Library also contains museum manuscripts and reports prepared by the staff. Among them is a series of background papers written a few years ago for our travelling exhibition on religious attitudes and beliefs of Western Canadians concerning the land from earliest times to the 1970s, entitled "The land God gave to his children." These papers include studies of Native religion, the religious background of some immigrant groups, and a documentation of Jewish and Ukrainian settlement up to 1929. Requests to use these manuscripts must be directed to the Research Department.

The "Made in Saskatchewan" project was a comprehensive study of inventions in Saskatchewan prepared for an exhibit at all of our branches in 1980. As part of the project, an index of Saskatchewan inventions was published. It lists inventions by the name of the inventor, the year of the invention, and the home community of the inventor. It is a good source of information on the creative tradition in Saskatchewan and contains useful data related to ethnic research. Inquiries to use the research notes of the project, which are held in our Library, should also be directed to our Research Department.

All the sources described above are available to researchers. In combination with other resources described today they will assist you in your research. If we can help, please call or write us.

Notes

1. While the North Battleford and Saskatoon handbooks cited have the same title, the contents of each book deal specifically with artifacts at each particular site.

Research Methodology

The Slavic Perspective

Victor O. Buyniak

My specialization is Slavic studies, which encompasses a broad spectrum of languages and literatures, as well as various aspects of Slavic culture and civilization. I have often had occasion to examine archival material in the course of my own research. Furthermore, I am a resource person at the University responsible for helping interested parties to read, translate, and interpret various documents and materials, old and contemporary, in Slavic and some non-Slavic languages. Although these documents are in the possession of individuals, they belong to the category of such archival materials as letters, diaries, passports, all kinds of certificates, family histories, legal documents, photographs, pictures, and maps. Both as a researcher and as a resource person, I find a reading knowledge of Slavic languages and of German, French, Latin and Church Slavonic to be of great help. If a request comes for assistance with a central or east European document outside my field of competence (for example, Romanian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Latvian, or Albanian) I try to find someone more qualified to deal with this material.

In most cases requests for translation involve rather standard materials. But there have been in my experience, some unusual cases, calling for ingenuity and additional research. I would like to mention a few of them. Once, a tape recording in an unknown language was submitted for identification. On another occasion, an individual claiming to possess the gift of "tongues" paid a visit to ascertain whether the language he spoke was identifiable. Some place names in Central Europe, listed in a document over one hundred years old, were presented in order to be located on present-day maps after the owner of the document was unable to obtain the information from various foreign embassies in Ottawa. The piecing together of a family history was requested on the basis of correspondence, diaries, and documents written in eight different languages. Finally, the transcript of an entire court case was presented for translation from a Slavic language into English.

As I have already indicated, a knowledge of other languages constitutes an advantage when examining or searching for archival material. This knowledge is especially helpful when one deals with written documentation, since documents "do not talk back" and they do not create the same problems for the researcher that living and "talking" persons can. In order to obtain the necessary information in personal contacts, the use of the informant's language may not always produce the best results. When confronted with an interviewer who speaks the informant's own language but does not belong to the same ethnic or religious group, the informant may become suspicious, or may misinterpret the researcher's motives. One still encounters ethnic, religious, or even class biases and preconceptions in Canada. Some of these biases have accompanied the immigrants themselves from their countries of origin. Other prejudices may have originated on this continent and may have been perpetuated, often unwittingly, by the mass media. As mentioned by a speaker during a previous session, the perpetuation of certain national stereotypes makes for the survival of negative attitudes. Thus, sometimes, more reliable and more ample information may be obtained from the informant if the language used in the interview is English.

Among Slavic peoples, as among peoples of other nationalities, there exist certain ethnic preconceptions and animosities. They have their roots in the past and represent the historical experiences of these nations. A feeling of inferiority, perpetuated by former negative attitudes vis-à-vis certain ethnic groups on this continent, is gradually becoming a thing of the past. The introduction of the official policy of multiculturalism is one of the important factors responsible for this change in previous attitudes. But this policy has not yet reached everyone. Slavs in the original homeland are presently living under different political and ideological systems. Owing to probable contacts with their home countries and their ideologies, some Slavic individuals and organizations are viewed with suspicion on this continent. There is still archival material in the possession of various government agencies concerning certain events among Slavic communities in Canada which cannot be released to researchers on account of its "political sensitivity." Thus one encounters in this country a number of difficulties in trying to collect and use written or oral material pertaining to various aspects of the Slavic field.

Another problem for the researcher, and not only in the Slavic domain, is the location and accessibility of various individual and institutional records and archival materials. Many factors are decisive here — the jealousy of individuals and organizations, institutional pressure on individuals or organizations, competition among interested scholars — all these factors contribute to records and materials being in many cases deposited in unsuitable or inaccessible locations. There is also such a thing as the jurisdiction of various institutional and governmental levels. Sometimes research projects in the same field compete with each other for financial support. Conferences like the present one should help to evolve a more effective system of collecting and preserving archival materials, as it is important that the researcher know where and how to locate his sources most readily.

Metro Bornyk's wedding with the Bodnarchuk Orchestra, Blaine Lake District, 1923. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S- B1246.

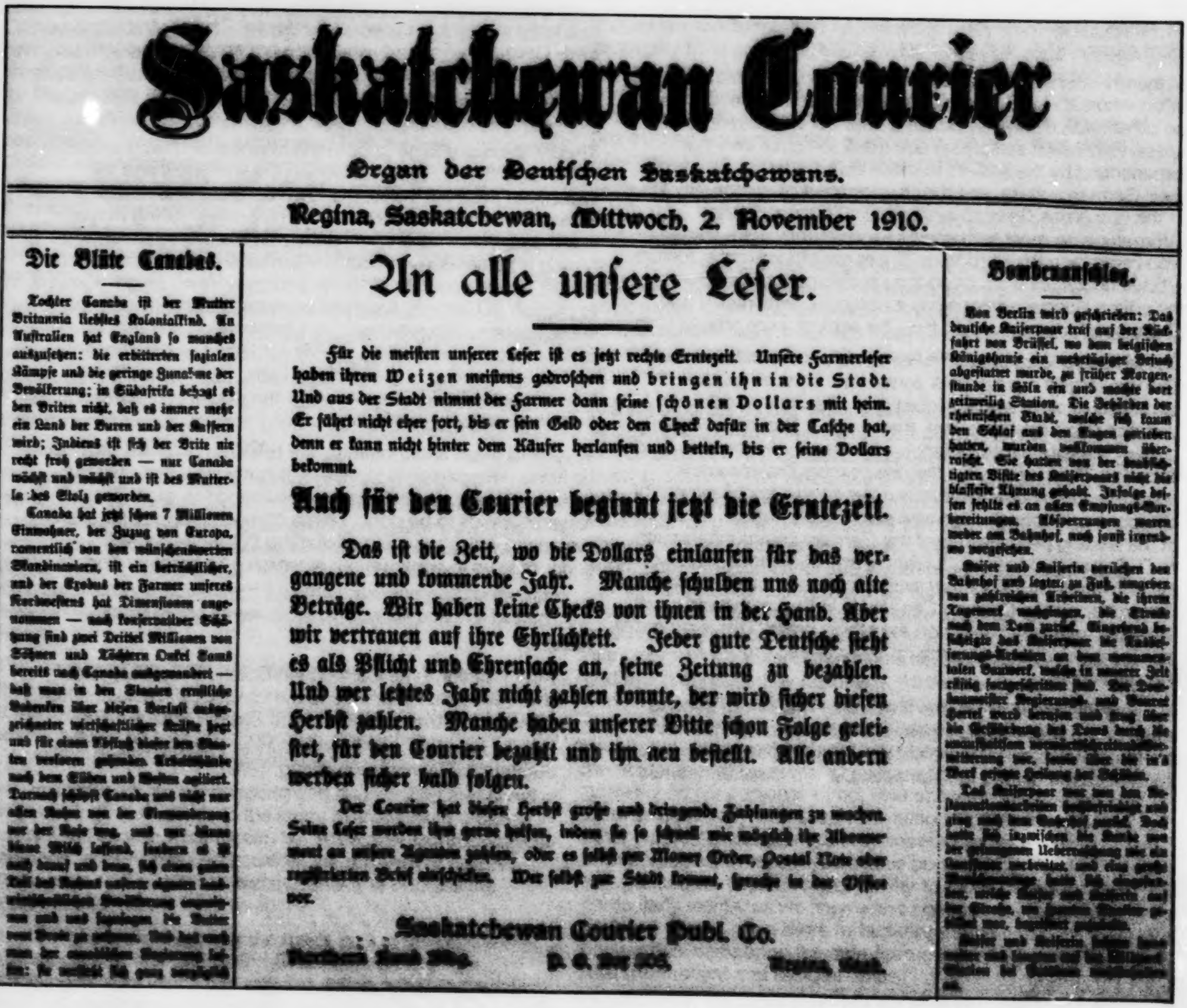
The Use of Ethnic Newspapers

Kurt Tischler

In my remarks, I would like to emphasize the usefulness and pitfalls of the ethnic press in historical research. My observation will be limited to German-Canadian newspapers, although it may be possible to extend my observations to the use of other ethnic newspapers in this way.

When I began my research for my graduate thesis, "The German Canadians in Saskatchewan with Particular Reference to the Language Problem, 1900-1930,"[1] I feared that there would be a scarcity of information available. I could not have been further off the mark! I soon found that there was a wealth of information — in fact, so much so that I had difficulty deciding on the scope of my topic.

However, researchers working on the history of German Canadians in Saskatchewan soon become aware that there is a real dearth of secondary source material, with the exception of sources pertaining to the history of German Mennonites. Further, they learn that the secondary source material that is available is largely in the German language. For example, only recently an English translation of Heinz Lehmann's, *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada*,[2] a pertinent source of information, has been undertaken. Hence researchers must know some German in order to conduct their research.



Saskatchewan Courier

Organ der Deutſchen Saskatchewans.

Regina, Saskatchewan, Mittwoch, 2. November 1910.

Die Blüte Canadas.

Tochter Canada iſt der Mutter Britannia liebſtes Kolonialkind. An Auſtralien hat England ſo manches auszuſetzen: die erbitterten ſozialen Kämpfe und die geringe Zunahme der Bevölkerung; in Südafrika behagt es den Briten nicht, daß es immer mehr ein Land der Buren und der Kaffern wird; Indiens iſt ſich der Brite nie recht froh geworden — nur Canada wächſt und wächſt und iſt des Mutterlandes Stolz geworden.

An alle unſere Leſer.

Für die meiſten unſerer Leſer iſt es jetzt rechte Erntezeit. Unſere Farmerleſer haben ihren Weizen meiſtens gedroſchen und bringen ihn in die Stadt. Und aus der Stadt nimmt der Farmer dann ſeine ſchönen Dollars mit heim. Er fähret nicht eher fort, bis er ſein Geld oder den Check dafür in der Taſche hat, denn er kann nicht hinter dem Käufer herlaufen und betteln, bis er ſeine Dollars bekommt.

Auch für den Courier beginnt jetzt die Erntezeit.

Das iſt die Zeit, wo die Dollars einlaufen für das vergangene und kommende Jahr. Manche ſchulden uns noch alte Beträge. Wir haben keine Checks von ihnen in der Hand. Aber wir vertrauen auf ihre Ehrlichkeit. Jeder gute Deutſche ſieht es als Pflicht und Ehrenſache an, ſeine Zeitung zu bezahlen. Und wer letztes Jahr nicht zahlen konnte, der wird ſicher dieſen Herbſt zahlen. Manche haben unſerer Bitte ſchon Folge geleiſtet, für den Courier bezahlt und ihn neu beſtellt. Alle andern werden ſicher bald folgen.

Der Courier hat dieſen Herbſt große und dringende Zahlungen zu machen. Seine Leſer werden ihm gerne helfen, indem ſie ſo ſchnell wie möglich ihr Abonnement an unſere Agenten zahlen, oder es ſelbſt per Money Order, Postal Note oder regiſtrierten Brief einſchicken. Wer ſelbſt zur Stadt kommt, ſpreche in der Office vor.

Saskatchewan Courier Publ. Co.

Northern Bank Bldg. P. O. Box [illegible] Regina, Sask.

The abundance of information to be found on German Canadians consists largely of primary source materials, both in the English and German languages. For example, we heard this morning of the work Dr. Clint White is doing on one topic — the St. Peter's Colony. One of the greatest untapped primary sources of information about Germans is the German ethnic press. I found that the German-language newspapers were the best source of information for my thesis topic.

There were a number of German newspapers published in the early part of the twentieth century. Unfortunately copies of many of them cannot be found. How I have wished that copies of some of them would turn up in someone's basement or office! The two major German weeklies were: *Der Nordwesten* (Winnipeg, 1889) and *Der Courier* (Regina, 1907). Most editions of these papers are available. Other papers that were published were: *West Kanada* (Winnipeg, 1907), *Germania* (Winnipeg, 1907), *Rundschau* (Regina, to 1907), *Mennonitische Rundschau* (Elkhart, Indiana, 1877), *Steinbacher Post (1913), St. Peters Bote* (Muenster, 1904), *Der College Freund* (Saskatoon, 1914), and *Der Bote* (Rosthern, 1923).

In these newspapers, the researcher can find a wealth of information about German Canadians in Saskatchewan. From no other source can one obtain a "feel" for the extraordinary speed with which settlement occurred, the optimism experienced by the settlers in those early years for maintaining their German culture, and the development of community life in the numerous German settlements. There is detailed information on most settlements — when they were started, who came, and their progress. There are photographs, feature articles on settlements, calendars, and correspondence with the editor. Special editions cover particular settlements and give a good assessment on how the settlers were progressing.

These newspapers provide other kinds of information as well. The two largest newspapers contain information on the formation of clubs and societies (e.g., Deutschcanadischer Verband von Saskatchewan), they made a standing offer to publish free-of-charge material submitted by German clubs or societies. Then, of course, the newspapers provide some political commentary, extensive news on the establishment of churches and schools, and also publish information on some of the leading personalities of the German communities such as D. Toews, E. Meilicke, J. Uhrich, and H. Therres. Much of the above information is not available in any other sources. The researcher on the German Canadians in Saskatchewan must, therefore, rely very heavily on the ethnic press. This is probably true for those doing research on other ethnic groups in Saskatchewan.

In using the ethnic press, the researcher must keep in mind some of the weaknesses inherent in this source of data. First, the major newspapers were not politically impartial; many of them were not owned by Germans. *Der Nordwesten* (owned by Germans until 1912) was initially mildly "Liberal" and thereafter assumed a "Conservative" position when the majority of its shares were purchased by English business interests. Of all the German newspapers, *Der Nordwesten* is probably the most reliable in its political commentary. *Der Courier* was "Liberal" from its beginning and the paper did not try to hide this fact from its readers.

These two major German weeklies spent considerable effort feuding with each other over major issues, contributing towards the tendency for divisiveness among German Canadians. Those newspapers which were founded by religious denominations provide very little political commentary, except during elections. Even then the political information provided is not very helpful.

Secondly, when using these newspapers the researcher must keep in mind that the enthusiasm with which the German press supported the retention of the German language in the schools and the formation of German clubs and societies was dictated to a large extent by its own self-interest. Their subscribers were German, of course, and if the papers were to continue to be a viable business investment, they depended on a large German population which would continue to read and subscribe to them.

Thirdly, there are large gaps in the information that is available in the German newspapers. During the war years and the immediate post-war years, the German press was muzzled. The federal censor decided what could be printed during those years and, therefore, a commentary on the events which were having a tremendous impact on Germans in Saskatchewan is almost non-existent. In 1918 the papers were no longer allowed to publish in German. As could be expected, the number of subscriptions dropped drastically. Information on German clubs and societies was no longer published as it had been earlier. Information one can glean from newspapers about German activities in Saskatchewan during the war years is, therefore, singularly unhelpful.

In spite of these shortcomings, the research potential provided by these newspapers is immense. It is my view that only the surface of that potential has been examined. A great deal of research needs to be done. I hope that conferences, such as the one in which we are participating this weekend, will encourage us to continue our research with greater effort.

Notes

1. Kurt Tischler, "The German Canadians in Saskatchewan with Particular Reference to the Language Problem, 1900-1930" (M. A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1978).
2. Heinz Lehmann, *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Berlin: Junker Und Dunnhaupt-Verlag, 1939).

Considerations in the Study of Greek Ethnicity

Avra Watson

Since the 1890s, Greeks have come in modest numbers to settle in the cities of the United States and Canada. In the main, Greeks have established themselves energetically in the urban areas of the North American continent and although typically deriving from rural village backgrounds have rapidly adapted to an urban lifestyle. With a world diaspora of about nine million, equal to their home population base, the location of Greek migrants in cities is among the factors which have enabled them to rise in the hierarchy of the professions and entrepreneurship out of proportion to their numbers.

With some two hundred thousand of them in Canada and about ten thousand in the three prairie provinces, their urban lifestyle has been accompanied by diverse organizational developments including a distinctively North American style of Orthodox parishes. Greek immigrants took an aggressive lead role in setting up their own churches because in the earlier stages of spreading migration there was no vigorous initiative for this process by the diocesan clerical authorities themselves. These ecclesiastical communities, when compared with churches in Greece itself, are marked both by their high degree of relatively independent lay control, and frequently serve educational and other coordinating functions among the Greeks of a given locality. They continue as foci of a cultural emphasis known as "Hellenism" whereby retention and maintenance of ethnicity and ethnic identity is a paramount concern.

The Greek presence in the New World has also been characterized by a marked proclivity for forming voluntary and fraternal organizations known as *somateia topika*, local level clubs or bodies which perpetuate specific old-country links. These *somateia* not infrequently have an important aspect of their *raison d'être* which is to provide some concrete benefit for the village or hamlet in Greece.

The patterning of Greek immigrant ethnicity in the first generation has been aided by the establishment of small businesses in the service industries requiring little overhead — restaurants, and their predecessors such as food peddlers, coffee-houses, candy stores, and shoe-shine parlours — although factory employment was the main entry niche for very many immigrants in the larger cities of Canada and the United States.

The ways in which these sociocultural patterns of Greek life in the new-world urban setting are adapted to fit the prairie scene is the topic of consideration in this presentation. We will examine selected aspects of ongoing research in a Greek-Canadian local population of some three hundred individuals.

For this research we are adapting and augmenting traditional anthropological methods to the study of ethnicity in urban areas. I will explain what I mean by "traditional anthropological methods" shortly. We also consider the problem of historic documents and archival materials needed to buttress the research effort at the local level.

It is to be borne in mind that the major part of the community is composed of first-generation Greek immigrants. The following sectors which can serve to define "ethnicity" will be dealt with here: language, religion, economic focus, and voluntary organizations; external factors affecting local community history will also be considered.

I would like to recount some of what we have found out in a continuing study of Greek immigrants and their progeny in a small prairie city (Saskatoon, with a 1985 population base of about 170,000), working as anthropologists, primarily and extensively through participant observation.

The method of participant observation used by the anthropologist in the study of social situations consists of immersing the researcher in the extensive experience of characteristic day-to-day activities of the group selected. This situational involvement among the people studied is vital to modern anthropological fieldwork in providing realistic knowledge of how the culture of a people is lived in action, as distinct from how a culture may be described in general, abstract, or ideal terms. Another important aspect of the anthropologist's work is to gather descriptions from the culture's insiders as to what the principles and patterns of the culture are self-consciously considered to be. The collection of testimony from an ethnic group's members proceeds through repeated interviewing in several styles, from casual to formal and highly-structured. Additional means of inquiry are employed, such as questionnaire surveys, as well as the use of pre-existing documentation of various sorts as in civic records, newspaper files, and other historical materials.

Our participant observation, personal immersion in the activities of the group, has been extended over several years and is rather comprehensive in scope. One member of the team of two researchers taught Sunday School; the other attended Greek school evening classes sponsored by the community. Both have served as elected officers and committee members in various local Greek organizations. All of the anthropologists' efforts have been directed to getting "the view from the inside."

Anthropologists, during many earlier decades in dealing with other kinds of culture, were used to a circumstantial limitation for research in that they faced a sparsity or virtual absence of existing documentary resources to consult. Accordingly, they have been used to gathering information by other methods, especially (as previously indicated) by direct participant observation within the group studied, plus interviewing informants. With the effect that the anthropologists' own field notes — supplemented as they may be with photographs, sound film, or tape recordings — become prime "archive" materials, analogous, as they actually are, to the miscellaneous manuscripts, diaries, and personal letters assembled in archives and much consulted by historians. All that being said, we now find that as anthropologists are increasingly involved with the study of literate populations and urban situations, what is usually meant by archival material does become available, but the researcher still does what he has always done, namely, rely primarily on his personal, direct field observations, augmenting them as necessary with such information as civic records and other conventional materials archives may provide. We anthropologists in recent years have been getting rapidly accustomed to research styles similar to those of historians — particularly insofar as we may wish to get our contemporary fieldwork scene into a more or less long-range time perspective, comparing the data from our present scene with data from recent and remoter times.

Our research concerns included the founding and early years

(1960-1975) of the Hellenic Orthodox Community of Saskatoon as documented in archival materials such as photographs, minutes, constitutions in successive drafts, newspaper clippings from the past, and business correspondence of this organization. An example or two are correspondence with the Regina parish on the sending of its priest at intervals to Saskatoon and the sharing of charges for same; or correspondence on business details of acquiring land on which to build a local church.

Regrettably such materials are not yet as comprehensively assembled as they could be and it is to be hoped that they will be. Further effort is desirable to persuade such an ethnic group's members to contribute individual and family records (and memorabilia) as well as those of their diverse organizations to serve scholarship, and to let others and their own future generations know about their community and its members.

Materials such as files of regional and local newspapers, population and economic data were found in several research libraries in the Athens area in the provincial government offices at Tripolis, Province of Arcadia. More specifically, we found valuable demographic records in the community government office of the village cluster, Kastri (in Arcadia), from which the bulk of Saskatoon Greeks have emigrated.

There has always been parental and communal concern that the ethnic mother tongue be kept alive among the immigrants' children here in Canada. The first Greek organization formed locally in 1920, called the Saskatoon Greek Society, had Greek-language instruction for the young as its main announced purpose. Although the Society itself disappeared toward the end of the 1920s, the instructional arrangements it initiated in 1927 continued thereafter, more or less regularly, down to the present. The Hellenic School Association founded in the late 1970s and registered as a non-profit corporation, eligible for tax-deductible status of contributions from its community supporters and also recipient of federal and provincial grants (besides being allotted twenty-five percent of the net profits from the Greek pavilion at Saskatoon's Folkfest), has some fifty-five young students enrolled in Saturday afternoon classes, at several successive grade levels. Four teachers are regularly hired each year now, who may be recruited from among the permanent Greek adult population here or (frequently) are university graduate students temporarily here from Greece.

Students' poetry recitations and dramatic skits in Greek are often featured at key public celebrations during each year (such as Greek Independence Day, March 25).

In addition to the relatively large (and increasing) scale of the Saturday Greek classes for children and youth, there have also been, for nearly a decade now, some small weekday evening classes for adults. Although these older students have occasionally included second-generation Greeks (who already speak the language but want to brush up on formal grammar or their reading skills), the most typical adult enrollees have been non-Greek spouses or fiancées. With these classes as an encouragement, in-marrying brides have in several cases been notably successful in acquiring fluent command of Greek.

In the past, Greeks in Saskatoon kept up a fairly extensive experience of friendly linkage with the Ukrainian Orthodox who would lend the use of their Church premises and even clerical services, especially for rites of passage. This was during the first two-thirds of this century when there were no Greek-owned premises and when there were no local Greek clergy (although the latter did, in the later years, come into Saskatoon on a more or less regular basis from Regina or farther afield).

In the 1960s an organization was formed called the Hellenic Orthodox Community of Saskatoon which had as its goal the eventual establishment of a parish of the Greek Orthodox Church. By 1975 this organization was able to acquire a satisfactory church building and get a permanent priest assigned to the parish being set up at that time.

In accord with policies of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America to which this parish is linked, the Archdiocese flexibly leaves the proportion of Greek-language use up to the judgement of a given incumbent priest. In practice, here, the liturgy has been almost entirely in Greek with fluctuating amounts of supplementary readings in English. It may be mentioned that at weddings, the priest customarily includes a fairly substantial and clear explanation in English about the symbolisms of the Greek wedding ceremony for the benefit of non-Greeks, of whom there are apt to be many present on such occasions.

The church, in principle, is governed according to uniform parish regulations of the Archdiocese. In various concerns of the church, naturally, they are managed according to the judgement and tastes of the incumbent priest. A body of councillors, seven in number, is elected biannually from among the laity who are empowered to vote as long as they are in good standing and have paid up their church dues. The priest himself is a non-voting advisor to the council.

It is typically assumed that Greek Orthodox parents (and godparents) will fulfill their sacred duties in seeing to it that children are baptized and inculcated with a commitment to be Orthodox Christians. It is standard usage among Orthodox Greeks that entire families including children of all ages, down to babes in arms, attend liturgical services. This has as its practical outcome that children can be expected to grow up being quite familiar as a matter of course with the general atmosphere and forms of the Greek Orthodox liturgy.

Attracting and holding the devotion of teenagers is a problem for all churches. One formula for dealing with this issue has been the setting up of chapters of the Greek Orthodox Youth Association (G.O.Y.A.) for teenagers with a mixed programme of religious matter, sports, and social recreation. It must be said that the G.O.Y.A. Chapter at the Saskatoon Church has failed to thrive. More recently, there is a move to revitalize the small group here with stronger emphasis on other-than-religious aspects.

The church council has taken under its wing the overall planning and administration of its participation in the annual city festival (Folkfest), proceeds from which (apart from school support) are set aside in a church-building fund. There have been statements to the effect that such a church should have the Greek Byzantine style evocative of all the older churches in Greece itself.

We would expect the economic patterns of Greek life to bear out the overall character stated earlier and found for the United States and Canada. An urge toward competitive and entrepreneurial activity is much in evidence. To what extent is it true elsewhere that "when Greek meets Greek they set up a restaurant?" The Saskatoon community is remarkable in that actually the great majority of its population from the first generation is in the restaurant business.

When the pioneers of the first generation got here they improvised, as well as they were able, opportunities for employment. After a few years the food-service business came to involve a fluctuating number of initially petty enterprises, beginning with small candy stores and ice-cream parlours, and eventually upgraded to full-scale restaurants. The earlier enterprises were small and modest; the large, more sumptuous operations came late in the history of settlement.

Within the last two decades and with the increased public interest in dining out and savouring varied menu styles — including diversification of ethnically-labelled styles of cuisine — the restaurant enterprises of Greeks in Saskatoon have both proliferated in number and diversified in type, one especially relevant dimension of such diversification being the insertion of distinctively Greek items among the offering of restaurant menus in the way of main dishes, soups, salads, and pastries. It is not irrelevant to note that these insertions are signalled with the conspicuous label "Greek" (e.g., "Greek-style ribs," "Greek Salad," "Greek souvlaki," and "Greek olives"). The very noticeable trends of quite recent years for increasingly numerous and conspicuous mention of Greek cuisine items, is quite notable for some restaurants and less so for some others. Within the past decade there have existed just two restaurants, one after the other, which emphatically specialized in Greek content. They met a welcoming public response but not an overwhelming one.

Turning to the nature of the work force, it tends to be characteristic of Greek restaurant enterprises that they have Greek personnel from top to bottom, with Greek employees typically including members of the bosses' own immediate families. Less obvious than the foregoing, but quite frequent is the employment by Greek restauranteurs of one another's family members. *Mr. X* in one end of town hires sons and daughters from his counterpart in the other end of town. There is apparently, in effect, a pool of Greek employers that shares a supply of Greek employees. Non-Greeks employed as cooks and waitresses — as well as non-Greek business partners — may also appear in this network.

Both with regard to the financing and partnership arrangements and staffing of restaurants, we see a proclivity to work with other Greeks, for mutual benefit, and specifically among people who have close kinship ties. These kinship ties may be those of brothers, brother and sister, uncle and nephew, close cousins, in-laws (son-in-law, brother-in-law), and occasionally, those linked by the fictive kinship of *koumbaria* or godparenthood. This is the highly-prized linkage among Greeks set up for the role of ritual sponsor at baptism and wedding ceremonies, the importance of the bond between *koumbari* being implied by the rule that they may not marry members of each other's families.

While kin relations do often affect employment chances and choices, the reverse may happen too: associations in the employment context have been known to lead to alliances through marriage.

Restaurant enterprises may differ from each other very much as to their scale and complexity. At one end is the "mom and pop operation" with hardly any room for non-family employees. At the other end of the scale is a complex organization with distinct levels of responsibilities and wages. Given that working in a restaurant kitchen is arduous, exhausting, perhaps not healthy in the long run, and traditionally ill-paid, there could be a gulf between owner/operator and employee. Apparently such a tendency is often offset by a "Greek democratic spirit" which articulates somewhat with two other facts of the contemporary restaurant business scene. One is that the entrepreneurs were once lowly workers in the kitchen themselves. Second, the restaurant business does tend to be unstable: there are quite numerous examples of the cycle of ups and downs.

Outside the church, its council, and women's church auxiliary, *Philoptochos*, a main social force affecting Greek ethnicity and identity has been the fraternal organization AHEPA, founded here forty-five years before the parish was established, for ethnic Greeks of this continent (as well as in Australia).

AHEPA (the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) had its Saskatoon chapter established in 1930. During the subsequent years AHEPA has gone through stages of its existence with somewhat shifting priorities of emphasis in its activities. At the time of the order's founding in the United States (early 1920s), as at the founding of this specific Saskatoon chapter in the early Depression years, a worrisome issue confronting Greeks was that of xenophobic prejudice and, at times, even threats of violence. AHEPA was initially designed for building positive public-relations imagery for North American Greeks. For that reason as well as for the obvious practical benefits in business and so on, they adopted and strongly promoted the learning and use of the English language. Additionally, AHEPA has in several respects tended to resemble the model of Masonic lodges in the flavour of its ceremonialized fictive brotherhood and in its programme of diverse good works, such as community fund drives to finance educational causes and to aid Greek war relief for World War II.

According to its constitution, AHEPA does not refuse entry to non-Greeks. Although most members of AHEPA chapters are actually of Greek descent, as far as our observations have extended over three prairie provinces, those members not of Greek descent are married to Greek women.

The male AHEPA organization has an affiliated women's counterpart, the Daughters of Penelope, the Saskatoon chapter of which was the first such in all Canada (established in 1938). Both in conjunction with AHEPA and on their own, the Penelopes of Saskatoon, over their nearly fifty years here, have often furnished the initiative and organizing work for Greek community celebrations and convivial occasions, as well as serving educational or philanthropic causes.

There was extensive Greek immigration into the United States much earlier than into Canada: those very few Greeks who arrived here before World War I, and during the 1920s, typically came here after previous sojourns as immigrants to locations in the United States (especially, for instance, in the Chicago area). A lasting result has been the existence of kinship networks embracing relatives in the United States, and the use of Greek-American experiences as models for economic and other adaptations in the Canadian context.

Severely limited quotas for Greek immigrants to the United States established in the early 1920s, deflected them from the United States to Canada as an alternate destination although the wave of xenophobic attitudes and threats of the 1920s in the United States, as exemplified by the Ku Klux Klan, had its analogues and echoes in Canada as well. A brief Ku Klux Klan presence in this province in the late 1920s provided the immediate context for establishing AHEPA chapters in the prairie provinces of Canada as defensive measures to counteract prejudice and to strive toward enhancing the public image of Greeks as an ethnic minority.

The Second World War produced in Canada, as in the United States, a gratifying increase of respect and cordiality to Greeks because of the perception of Greeks as a brave ally against the Axis powers in the war. The public image of Greeks here improved decisively during this period; under AHEPA leadership, conspicuous efforts by the local Greeks were supporting Canada's allied war effort as well as helping to finance Greek War relief.

Following the War, Greek immigration to Canada increased notably, because Canadian immigration policy was welcoming, and because conditions in Greece itself had been devastated by the Italo-German occupation and the subsequent Greek civil war. The majority of Greeks in Saskatoon arrived after the 1939-1945 War.

This presentation has been about Greek Canadians and an investigation of their lives in a modest-sized Canadian city. The anthropologists conducting the study represent a discipline which in the past characteristically focused its attention on what were, or what seemed to be, unchanging, homogeneous, clearly-bounded small societies. This professional heritage has for some time been getting rapidly and vigorously transformed as anthropologists focus their research attention increasingly often on less stable, less sharply-bounded groups, which are to a great degree caught up in the interdependencies of a larger, overall social milieu — as Greek immigrants and their progeny are located within the modern multi-ethnic scene in Canada.

As anthropologists have more or less enthusiastically grappled with more complex materials, they have to think less typologically and less of ideal types and think more in terms of variation and flux in different ways of behaving: they will see changes in the frequency of different social options open to individuals over the course of time. Such a model for the description of human behaviour contrasts with what anthropologists were used to in the past, but it is a model which we begin to take much more into account as we study people in different settings.

In Saskatoon we have found that our participant observation approach may tend to carry us to a considerable variety settings and activity types because of the non-homogeneity of the population being investigated. We have found that there is a diversity of ways of living and diversity of sociability networks and institutional attachments among the Greeks.

Surely, our findings and those of others about the lives of people on the contemporary ethnic or pluralist scene must be used reflectively with due consideration given to the overall flux of historic circumstances. We must also consider the somewhat unpredictable fluctuations in the balance of heritage maintenance and continued adaptations to urban life by ethnic groups.

Archival Programmes in Local Communities: Purpose, Experience, and Progress

The New Finland Historical Society and *Life in the New Finland Woods*

Eino Maki, Nancy Mattson, and Carl Denet

1. Organizing our Local History Committee

Eino Maki

First, I feel I should explain the location of the New Finland community; it is in southeast Saskatchewan between the CPR mainline to the south and the Qu'Appelle Valley to the north, circled by five towns: to the south are Wapella and Whitewood, to the northeast is Tantallon, to the northwest is Esterhazy, and to the east is Rocanville. The name "New Finland" came about when the local Post Office was established, putting the name on postal maps. Also, the New Finland School District was organized and the school was built in the centre of the district.

The first history committee was formed over twenty years ago, but due to lack of interest at that time it did not get off the ground; however, the subject was often talked about. It was not until the spring of 1980 that during a visit to her home community, a great-granddaughter of the first woman who settled in New Finland, Hazel Lautamus Birt, approached the church council about the idea of compiling a history book about New Finland, offering her help to the project.

Soon an Executive Committee was formed of seven people, with me as president. I am grateful to my retired lawyer friend for advice on how we should proceed with this kind of venture. His response was that we should keep meetings strictly to procedural rules, consider all ideas carefully, appoint people to co-edit the material gathered, and sort related subjects into different categories ready for the editor of our choice. He said we were legally involved as soon as we accepted monies for our book project such as the payment for advance orders. He even suggested that we could get the book printed in Taiwan for about one-third of the cost; that idea did not sit too well with our committee.

The interest and enthusiasm for the book project was overwhelming throughout the community, as thirty to forty people came to about forty general meetings over a period of one and one-half years, bringing documents and pictures for the book. The seventy- to eighty-year-old residents were our best source of information about people who lived in the community in the earlier times. At the meetings we read and discussed family histories and the community history, making sure we had the facts right. We also checked church, school, municipal, and homestead records. Our book, *Life in the New Finland Woods*, was printed in late 1982.

Word of the New Finland Historical and Heritage Society soon spread to Toronto and Finland. Finland's national radio system sent a representative to interview and make tape recordings of the songs and stories of community residents, resulting in some family ties coming to light that were unknown before. I am presently corresponding with two journalism students who wish to come to the community next spring to write about the life of the Finnish settlers. Toronto's Finlandia television group came in the summer of 1982 to put the community and some aspects of community life on a thirty-minute video tape. New Finland is our own small community, but it is beginning to be known to the outside world.

2. Writing *Life in the New Finland Woods*

Nancy Mattson

Writing a local history book, like writing any book, is time-consuming, tough, and exhausting. When you start it, you have no idea how tough it will be to get it done; when you are in the middle of it, you think it will never end; when it is finished, you are exhausted. At least I was, and so were many people in New Finland, when we finally got our book into print just in time for Christmas, 1982. We were also excited of course: it had been a long two-year process, but now we had the finished, 300-page book in our hands, *Life in the New Finland Woods: A History of New Finland, Saskatchewan*. It was attractive, readable, and solid — not too thick and not too thin — and all our names and stories were in it. At last, ninety-five years after the first pioneer settled in New Finland in 1887, the story of the community had been documented. The story of New Finland is one of collaboration among the homesteading Finns; the story of writing the New Finland history book is also one of collaboration. I would like to discuss what we went through in writing our history book. What did we learn and what can we tell others about our experience?

The purpose of my contribution, then, is to reflect on the process of writing, editing, and publishing a local history book and making sure that it is the best book possible according to several clearly defined criteria. As general editor, researcher, and writer of the introductory chapter and several articles in the New Finland history book, I would also like to reflect on the role of the editor in producing such a book.

When I volunteered to edit this book, I had both a personal and a professional interest in the project. My parents were born in New Finland, my grandparents had homesteaded there, and I had spent all my childhood summers there. I was deeply rooted in the community and wanted to see the story of New Finland well told. I had also had several years of experience as an editor, and I was teaching writing and literature at the university level. I wanted the book to be accurate and readable, but I did not want it to sound stuffy and academic. After all, it was a community effort, and the individual voices of the people who lived there had to be heard.

Editing the book was not an easy process, for I had to constantly keep in mind not only editorial principles but the expectations of the community and their limited financial resources. Words cost money to put into print, and yet each person's words were precious to the writer who had struggled to tell the family story or to explain some aspect of life in New Finland. What I must stress, however, is that it is not good enough in a local history book, and it is usually too costly, just to print everyone's article verbatim, for there is bound to be overlap of content and inconsistency of format. An editor has to cut and reorganize, in order to make the final product a smooth and unified book rather than a miscellaneous series of introductory articles followed by an alphabetized series of family histories. The history of New Finland turned out so well — for I dare to assert its success with an immodesty which is uncharacteristic of the Finns — for two reasons. First, the people of New Finland did an excellent job of researching their own articles and writing them with honesty and freshness; secondly, they trusted me as editor and gave me the time and encouragement to polish and arrange their work and put it in context.

What, then, is a good local history book like, and why do I think the New Finland history book is successful? First, a history book should be comprehensive, and this one is. All of the 146 Finnish families who settled in New Finland between 1887 and 1930 are included. Every Finnish nose has been counted — perhaps an easier task than with some groups, because the Finns are not really numerous: they are the twenty-first largest ethnic group in Saskatchewan. In 1971 there were only 1,725 people of Finnish descent in the province, 415 of them in the still-thriving community of New Finland. (The largest population of Finns in the community was 664 in 1931.) While it was thus possible to include every family in our book, simply because the numbers were relatively small, it was still true that in many cases there was no family member available to write a family history. The New Finland history committee solved this problem and ensured that there were no gaps in the historical record by appointing people to write the histories of those families who had left or who had no living descendants. In any local history, no matter how difficult it is or how long it takes, everyone who fits within the defined limits of the book must somehow be included.

A second criterion for a good history book is that it should have clearly defined limits of place, time, ethnic background, occupation, religion, or the like. In our book we decided to include only Finnish people who lived within the twelve-by-fourteen-mile area known as New Finland. They need not have been landowners, though most were; even transients were included. Defining our limits as an ethnic history was sensible, but it presented some problems. It meant that some New Finland families with other ethnic backgrounds — British and Hungarian, for instance — had to be excluded even though they had interacted closely and even intermarried with the Finns. For people living in New Finland, that decision sometimes meant excluding friends and neighbours. For me as an editor, that meant retitling articles that had been submitted by people who had Finnish blood but who no longer had Finnish names. For example, my cousin Carl Denet, who is currently president of the New Finland Historical Society and who farms to this day in New Finland, is not included in the book under his own name but only under his mother's Finnish name, Nordlund, and under his wife's Finnish name, Filpula. If that does not reflect his actual position in the community, it does reflect the logical focus of the book. Once the general reader understands this principle of organization, it becomes easy to understand where to find someone in the book. Thus a history book needs a clear and logical focus; ours was the Finns.

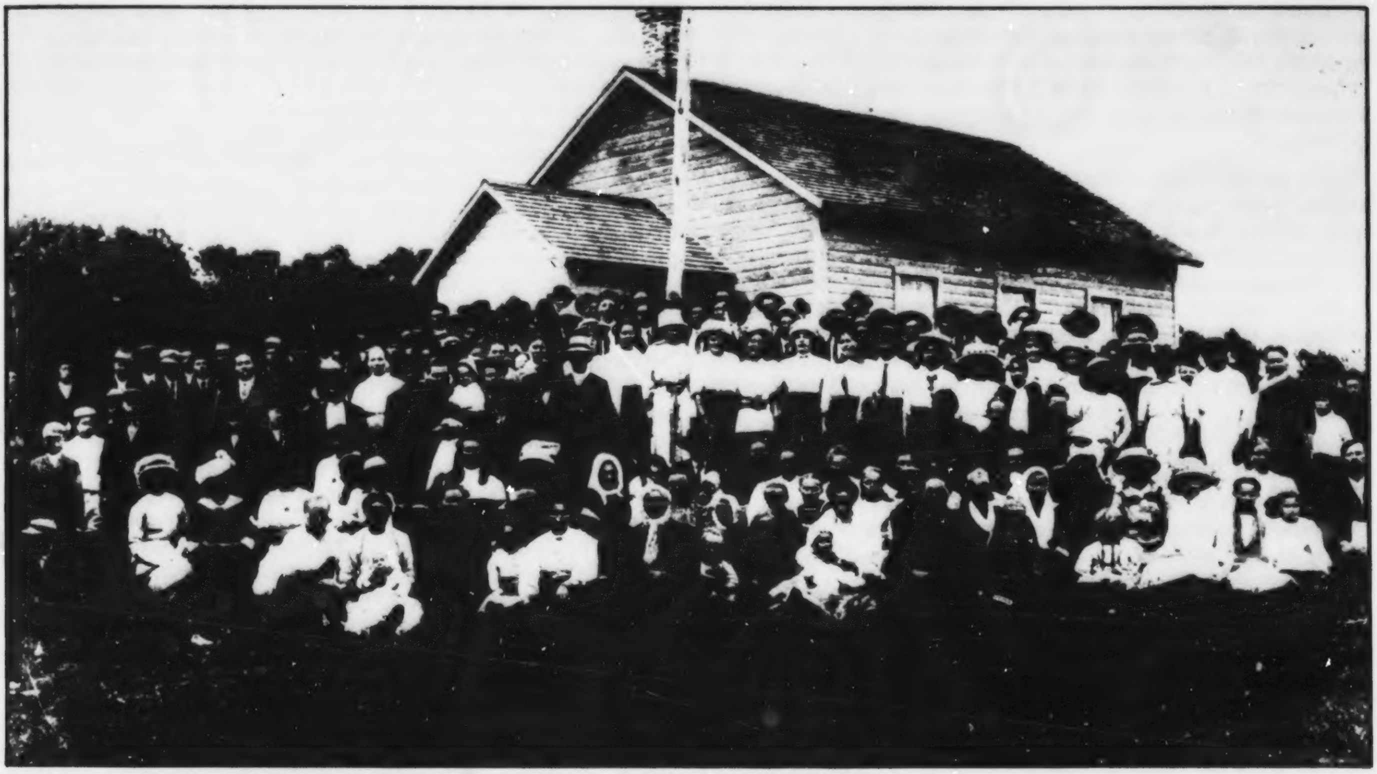
While focus is crucial, so is context, however. Some local history books are so local that only people who live there can understand how their community fits into the province or the country as a whole. In editing the New Finland history book, then, I tried always to keep in mind its double audience: the inner community, consisting of people who still live in New Finland, and the wider community, consisting of several kinds of general readers. Some people will read the book, now and in the future, who have had relatives in New Finland but do not live there themselves. Other readers may be interested in the history of the Finns, or all ethnic communities, or farming communities, or Saskatchewan, or the West, or Canada. Some readers may be academics in any one of these fields. All of these general readers need more explanation than insiders do about where New Finland is and how it was settled. Thus the third requirement of a local history book is that it provide a geographic and historical context for the local community.

Fourthly, a local history book must be accurate, and it is ultimately the editor's job to ensure this. I relied on the New Finlanders to tell their own family histories, though I sometimes found by cross-referencing articles that there were discrepancies and then, I asked the people involved to resolve them. As an academic with research skills, I checked historical facts in all possible sources in the library and archives. I was fairly confident that my introductory chapter was historically accurate, but since I am not a trained historian I had the manuscript read by three experts: Dr. John Foster of the University of Alberta History Department, Dr. John Archer, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Regina, and Varpu Lindstrom-Best of the York University History Department. The first is a specialist in the history of the West, the second in the history of Saskatchewan, and the third in the history of the Finns. All gave me valuable suggestions, and I would urge the editor of any local history book to seek at least two outside readers to check the book for historical validity.

I also asked another outsider to read the manuscript — not a Finn and not a historian, but someone with expertise in writing and literary studies — Dr. Lorna McCallum. The fifth requirement of a history book is that it be readable — that is, flow smoothly, explain things carefully, and hold the interest of a general reader. This means that the style of writing should be accessible, avoiding the jargon and the bloodless prose found in too much academic writing. Instead, a local history book needs a clear and consistent style which still lets the natural voice of each writer be heard.

In order for a local history book to be readable, the sixth requirement is that it be concise and well-organized. One of the biggest tasks faced by the editor of any book such as this is the sheer bulk and chaos of hundreds of pages of manuscripts and hundreds of photographs. For the New Finland book, over 950 pages of typed manuscript and over 550 pages of photographs were submitted. The final book, both to save printing costs and, equally important, to make the book readable, was pared down to 300 pages with 450 photographs. (Usually, three or four pages of typed manuscript are equivalent to one typeset page.) But editing this material was a big job. I remember the excitement of sitting on a bench beside the North Saskatchewan River, enjoying the first few pages of the manuscript which included the diary of one of the pioneers. I also remember, 950 pages and 14 months later, trying at 2 A.M. to sort out the Hautamakis and the Myllymakis and the Katajamakis, not to mention the three Charlie Makis. If I could not make order and sense of them, how would a general reader be able to?

Alphabetization is the obvious method of organization for what is usually the bulk of any local history book: the family histories. But alphabetization is not enough. The family histories in the New Finland book are organized so that sons



Gathering at the New Finland School, 1914. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R82-309.

are clearly distinguishable from fathers and cousins of the same name. If a family has six daughters and four sons, and each son has a separate history, then each daughter also has a separate history — under her own name rather than her husband's name, which may not be Finnish. In other words, there must be consistency in headings in order to have a well-organized family history chapter. In addition, each article should present basic genealogical material in the same order, and in full sentences, followed by the family's "story."

What the local reader may turn to first is the family history chapter, but what the general reader sees first is a series of articles that give a general profile of the community. These are far more difficult to organize, for alphabetization cannot work and chronological order seldom works. For example, over eighty specific articles were submitted for inclusion in the New Finland book, with such miscellaneous titles as "St. John's Lutheran Church," "Why They Came," "Farming," "Saw Mills," "Limestone Pits," "My Memories," "Roads," and so on. But a well-organized book needs a manageable number of chapters — probably no more than eight or nine — of approximately the same length and depth. The chapter titles should reflect the relative importance of various aspects of life in the community. After many months of pondering, trying to fit certain anomalous articles into different categories, I finally came up with seven main chapters and seventy-three articles. The introductory chapter, subtitled "New Finland in Perspective," contains geographical and historical information about the Finns in the "old country" and their immigration to North America, other parts of Canada, and finally New Finland, starting, of course, with farming and moving to other occupations. In this chapter, a lot of interior organization and retitling of articles was necessary to achieve a smooth flow between them. "Saw Mills" was retitled "Sawing Wood"; "Telephones" became "Installing Telephones"; "Veterinarians" became "Doctoring Animals"; "Mail" became "Delivering Mail"; "Midwives" became "Delivering Babies." The third chapter, "Worship," reflects another important focus of this mainly Lutheran community. The fourth chapter, "Culture and Recreation," focuses on the Finnishness of the community with such articles as those on the sauna and on the New Finland lending library; it also chronicles activities common to any community, such as dances and sports. The fifth chapter is "Education," and the sixth is a rather miscellaneous compilation of voices from the heart called "Tributes and Memories." Here I included poems, reminiscences, interviews, diaries, and the like; some of these were extracted from the bulky seventh chapter, "Family Histories," in order to give them special prominence for the general reader. The book is completed by an honour roll of soldiers, a timeline of events, a list of footnotes, and a bibliography. The introductory pages are in standard book format, with left-hand pages blank: title page, table of contents, foreword, and acknowledgements. Even though it costs money to leave blank pages at the beginning of a book, I believe that it is important not to crowd the material into the first few pages, for the reader will only be overwhelmed and confused, and the book will look shoddy.

To sum up, then, the criteria for a good local history book include the following: comprehensiveness, focus, context, accuracy, readability, conciseness, coherence, and organization. Once all of these are achieved, there are several technical matters to consider with regard to the printing phase of the book.

First of all, do not allow the printer to talk you into printing the articles or chapters piecemeal. This makes it impossible to add new articles as they become essential, or to reorganize, refocus, or retitle them. I found that even after all of the articles and chapters were decided upon, there were still some gaps in certain chapters: for instance, the chapter on work had no article on women's work, though several overlapping articles on farming had been submitted. At that point I asked four women to get together and tape-record everything they could remember about women's work; the result is a fascinating article and a well-balanced chapter. It is best, then to have a completed manuscript before you contact any printers for estimates.

Secondly, even though all articles should have been typed on 8½-by-11-inch white paper, a final manuscript may need to be typed after the initial editing is complete. There may be so many editorial corrections and rearrangements that the original copy is extremely difficult for the proofer to read, and for the printer to estimate and then enter into his computer. It is false economy to save twelve hundred dollars and a couple of weeks on a final typing job, only to spend that much and more on printer's corrections.

Thirdly, there will be printer's corrections, many of them unforeseen, once you see the book in galley and page proofs. For instance, in our chapter on "Worship" the first photo originally turned out to be a picture of a tractor hauling people to church over muddy roads; this happened because one naturally puts photos as close as possible to the text which describes them. But it simply looked visually silly to have the bold-face title "Worship" followed by the picture of a tractor. Thus photos must sometimes be rearranged, always at great expense. Also, charts, tables, and lists may be awkwardly split between pages, and these also have to be rearranged at the proof stage in order to make the book visually attractive and clear.

A fourth mechanical matter: you need a numbered list of photo captions, with the corresponding number and caption attached firmly to the back of each photo, for the printer sets the captions and shoots the photographs separately.

Fifthly, maps should not be photocopies of printed maps but new maps, in black ink. Our book contains four maps, each drawn by the same person and each one smaller in focus: one of Finland; one of the Great Lakes and prairie regions of both the United States and Canada, to reflect settlement patterns of the Finns; one of southern Saskatchewan; and one of New Finland itself, with individual homesteads, churches, stores, and so on. A good cartographer with a steady hand not only ensures consistency but also notices omissions and suggests additional maps.

And, finally, it takes time for final proofing of the manuscript, the galley proofs, and the page proofs. At this point the editor should have at least one other person proofread the whole manuscript — not to suggest major changes in content but simply to check for typographical errors. People are particularly apt to be poor at proofreading what they are too familiar with: for instance, I skimmed right over my own son's birthdate and consequently made him ten years younger than he really is!

Despite the amount of work involved, I still recommend that the editing of a local history book (as opposed to the final proofreading) be done by one person. Editing, ultimately, cannot be done by committee. A single editor ensures unity of purpose, coherence, and consistency. But it does take time, lots of it. Once the people in the community have written their individual articles, after much sweating and fretting themselves (for writing is always a difficult process, and even more so for inexperienced writers), they become impatient to see their words in print. But they must remember not to rush the next part of the book process, the editing. Give the editor time and encouragement, as well as help with tasks like retyping portions of the manuscript and labelling photographs. I was fortunate to have a very patient and supportive history committee who trusted me for over a year and a half to edit the manuscript sentence by sentence, organize it, check it, think about it, think about it again, and polish it. Remember that the book tells the story of several generations in the life of the community and will be a reference book for years to come; a few extra months spent on editing will be time well spent.

Is a professional editor necessary? It helps, of course, but most communities cannot afford to pay one or do not have one available who will volunteer. But there is always someone in the community who is a "book person" who has read widely, has a feel for language, has a good sense of organization, likes the look and the heft of a well-made book, perhaps, has even done some writing and research. The editor must also be sensitive to people — their language patterns as well as their hesitancies and difficulties with writing. Some people are bound to hand in articles late; the editor just has to wait for them. Some of the best articles I worked on were the last. Many articles are uneven; the editor must highlight the best parts and fix up the other parts. One cannot expect professional writing from amateur writers, but an editor can encourage them to write in as honest and detailed a way as possible, urging them to be natural rather than stiff and formal, to tell feelings and not just facts.

The role of the editor, then, can be summed up as follows: to decide on overall organization; to check facts for accuracy and to eliminate inadvertent plagiarism; to provide consistency of tone and style; to write linking paragraphs or sentences between chapters and sometimes between articles to achieve coherence; to eliminate overlap and repetition between articles, perhaps using only parts of some articles submitted and deleting others entirely; to fill in gaps in chapters by commissioning new articles; to make sentences and paragraphs smooth, concise, and grammatically correct; to preserve each writer's individual style; to work with the printer on matters of layout, type style, and proofing — but not to negotiate financial matters. That is the job of the finance committee.

I cannot stress enough the importance of clear and honest communication between the editor and the members of the history committee. Writing and publishing a local history book is a collaborative effort. If the editor needs money for a final typescript, the community members must somehow raise the money; if the book is to stay on budget, however, the editor must be aware of financial constraints. If the community wants certain things included — cartoons or poems, for instance — the editor must accommodate them. But if the editor must delete some articles and photographs and rearrange others, the individual community members should not be miffed. Remember that a well-written, concise, and well-organized book written not only for insiders but also for outsiders, is more likely to get some funding from government agencies than a sloppy, repetitive, disorganized, and amateurish effort — and it will certainly sell more copies, too.

There is a Finnish word, *sisu*, that we all had to keep in mind throughout the research, writing, editing, and printing of our book. *Sisu* means "stick-to-it-iveness," hard work, stubbornness, and endurance. The original New Finlanders had the *sisu* to settle and develop their community; we needed the *sisu* to tell their story. May anyone who is compiling a similar history book have the *sisu* to see it through to completion.

3. Financing our Local History Publication

Carl Denet

My presentation on the New Finland community book project will deal primarily with the methods we used to finance the publication of our book, *Life in the New Finland Woods*.

From our very first meeting, it was evident that financing was one of our major concerns. Probably our second most important concern was how many books we could afford to finance and sell. Some argued that we could not afford more than five hundred, while others were much more optimistic and thought we should try for one thousand. The first meeting ended with the majority in favour of ordering one thousand books and every family at that meeting put a down payment of twenty dollars for a book — a positive first step.

After consulting with several printing firms, we found that our book was going to cost us thousands of dollars. We promptly decided to apply for monetary assistance from, first, the Health and Welfare Canada New Horizons Programme and secondly, the Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate. We received funding from both programmes, and I, hereby, would personally like to convey on behalf of the New Finland community, a heartfelt "thank you."

While waiting for government assistance to arrive, we held many fund-raising functions such as family suppers — the family donated the food and then later paid for that supper. We held auction sales to which community members donated articles; we organized raffles. The proceeds of all these functions went towards our book. It must be stressed here that without complete community participation we would not have had the success we did in raising funds.

We then mailed out information request sheets to everyone who we thought originated from New Finland or would be interested in purchasing a history book at twenty-five dollars, plus two dollars for mailing and handling. We received a very good response.

I think it is important to mention here that although pre-selling a history book is essential and beneficial from a financial point of view, it has its time to gather all the information that goes into a history book. It further takes time to properly compile that information, and the printers seem to take all the time in the world to get your book out. In the meantime, one receives a considerable amount of flack from people who have ordered the book saying, such things as, "I ordered a book from you some two years ago, and to this date have heard nothing"; "I am 79 years old and might die in a couple of months; when might I expect my book?"

One of the biggest — perhaps the biggest — problem in financing a history book is to have a firm final contract price with the printer. It seems there are always hidden problems which cost money. In paying for the book, the terms usually are: one-third down when going to print, one-third when the book is about half finished, and the final one-third on delivery of the book. When you have paid two-thirds of the money you have collected for the book and the printer tells you that he has run into some problems which are going to cost more money, there seems little you can do but pay the extra and then just try to collect more money.

This is where I think communities contemplating writing a history book could use some help and expertise in drawing up a contract to present to the printer. I firmly believe that the organization compiling the book should have the printer sign its contract instead of vice-versa; after all, it is paying for the work to be done.

One money-saving device, which I think is worthy of mention when having a book printed, is choosing the appropriate size of print. Printers, especially those doing history books, like to give you nice, large, readable print. But large, readable print takes up space, and printers make their money by selling you pages. With our book, we ran into the problem of having more material and thus more pages than we were prepared to buy or had budgeted for. By choosing a different style of print, yet one which was perfectly readable, we were able to save about forty pages. At twenty-five or twenty-six dollars a page per thousand books, this represents a lot of money. Consequently, by taking this action we were able to maintain the original selling price of our book, which we felt was a realistic price affordable by everyone.

Our book started off costing us $24,365; we wound up paying $29,623. We initially ordered 1,000 books and finally wound up buying 1,338. We have sold 1,156 books to date, and orders are still trickling in at the rate of about five or six per month, with a Christmas rush anticipated.

In closing, I feel that financially our book has been a complete success, and it continues to have a very positive impact on our community. It occupies a space of prominence in every home, most often right next to the Holy Bible, and it is a toss-up which gets read the most. Looking back, I would not have missed being involved in the production of our history book for anything.

Society for the Study of Ethnicity in Nova Scotia: Ethical Considerations in Ethnic Research

Elizabeth Beaton-Planetta

The Society for the Study of Ethnicity in Nova Scotia was established in 1984 to respond to the need for a vehicle of communication in ethnic studies in Nova Scotia — both in the sharing of research results and the discussion of problems and ideas among those involved in this area of research. Out of the first conference of the Society, held in the summer of 1984, came the realization that a primary concern within this field is the relationship between the scholar and the community. Of the issues raised, many related directly to professional ethics of information-gathering and of publication. The question of ethics is all the more pertinent because of the interdisciplinary nature of ethnic research, and more particularly because of its community orientation. It was found by the Society that there is a need for consensus in the ethics of research, or at least for critical awareness, which goes beyond the bounds of each researcher's own usually well-defined discipline and which must consider the community's needs as well.

The business of research is the basis of scholarship and the mainstay of continuing credibility for institutions of higher learning. Researchers, in seeking to maintain scholarly standards, stay within the ethical guidelines set for their discipline and aim for objectivity in methodology and analysis. In ethnic studies, however, these guidelines and aims become more complex because ethnic research tends to be directly related to living people and existing communities, and to current issues of economics, politics, and culture. The implications of ethical problems are present in both the conventional archival research and the more controversial direct field research, and in the means of publication of the results of the analysis of primary materials that come from these two sources.

This Conference, because it has a combined focus — research and community — is ideally suited to the discussion of the ethical considerations of ethnic research. In this summary, I will attempt to present some of the concerns in this area so that there might be some feedback and further contribution to this ongoing discussion.

Community awareness of research is a prime consideration. Should there be a general announcement of the intention to do research? If so, how explicit should the information be? In archival research it is quite possible that the community may never know that it is being studied; with fieldwork, the community may know that "something" is being done, but politeness often allows the vague explanations for questionnaires or tape recorders. In some communities, in fact, social science surveys from universities are something of a joke — students troop in, ask questions relating to various aspects of their lives, disappear, and nothing more is heard of that particular project. This is especially and unfortunately true of underdeveloped or "problem" communities in which questionnaires and interviews become a part of their economically and socially deprived existence. Finally, should the scholar consult the members of the community under study during the actual research or should he discuss findings and conclusions before publication of the results?

It is obvious that the answers to these questions are bound up in the scholars' rights and obligations to objectivity, bearing in mind that each discipline prefers to define its own objectivity. Community consultation concerning approaches, methodologies, and results may certainly result in the influencing of the scholars' points of view. Do researchers need to be free from the influences of the community's opinion and given the opportunity to draw conclusions on their own? Does the form of publication further affect the scholars' objective view of the situation? Whereas a local, "popular" publication would possibly bring controversy to the issue, a publication in an obscure academic journal might bring, for the researchers, recognition of "expertise" in an area and the possibility of professional promotion, as well as an opportunity to freely express their opinions.

If there is to be a forum between researchers and communities, what form should it take? Who are to be the discussants — how can researchers respond to all the individuals in an entire community? Will researchers be inclined to discuss their research with those of the community who have backgrounds and opinions similar to their own? Sometimes a particular organization will protect the interests of the community and, in effect, monitor or control the research. This latter is true with the Black and Micmac communities of Nova Scotia, sometimes to the frustration of researchers. The community in question usually has valid political reasons for controlling research and the publication of its results. There may be a reluctance to open old wounds if a situation is already on its way to improvement; or there may be, in the community's mind, a "right time" to bring attention to certain issues that would not be in keeping with the agenda of academic researchers. This type of control is possible only where there is direct fieldwork or internal archiving; there are generally few controls over archival sources which exist outside the community. On another level, the Regional Office of the Secretary of State in Nova Scotia attempts to ensure that any ethnic research that is carried out is done with the full knowledge of the community and as far as possible, with the participation of the community. Some of the complaints by scholars are that these restrictions affect the quality and effectiveness of research through the need to hire certain personnel who may not possess necessary research skills and through the need to be sensitive to local political concerns, all resulting in less than the complete picture that the researcher intended.

Methodology is another area which is fraught with ethical questions and disciplinary complexities. Fieldwork and the relationship between researcher and informant are hotly debated issues. Included in these are different disciplinary standards relating to the identification of informants. Folklore and anthropology, and to a certain extent sociology, have been dealing with these problems for many years; historians, political scientists, and economists are just approaching them. Some use direct quotations, giving the names of the informants, feeling that identity with one's own opinion is an important aspect of expression. Other disciplines prefer to maintain the anonymity of the informant, in that way encouraging freedom of expression without fear of reprisal. Researchers are always faced with the possibility, however remote, that information given to them in good faith will be used against informants for political reasons or otherwise. Sometimes fieldworkers are able to discern this and to protect their informants, sometimes not. Most often decisions of this sort are left with the informants who may or may not be aware of the implications.

Upon obtaining information through interviews in field research, there is the problem of interpretation of the voiced opinions of the informants, bearing in mind linguistic idiosyncrasies, the expectations of the researchers, and the context of the opinion at regional or national levels. Can the exact words of the informant stand as its own interpretation, with the collector being merely the one who acts as the vehicle of communication? Who has the right of interpretation — the community in a subjective way, or the researcher in an academic, objective way? Is there some means by which the two might mesh while still retaining the integrity of each?

In dealing with fieldwork methodology, researchers are met with the decision of who is the best-equipped person to represent the views of a community. Will it be the recognized leaders in each area who will speak to researchers (it usually is), or an individual who may not agree with the generally-accepted views of the community? The issues in this area are, unlike those of general awareness, resolved through discussions within one's own discipline, or at the very outside, among disciplines. Yet, it is the community and its individual members who will suffer or benefit by such discussions and conclusions.

In presenting these concerns in ethnic research, I have attempted to present both sides of the problems and possible solutions — those of the academic researcher and those of the community. These questions, in the universal search for truth, leave a heavy burden with the researcher/scholar. It is hoped that the continuing discussion of these issues will result not only in credible research from an academic point of view, but also in support for the needs of the community.

La Société historique de la Saskatchewan

André Lalonde

As a professor of history at the University of Regina and as a member of the Fransaskois community, I was struck by the fact that very few of my students of Franco-Canadian background were interested in the contributions which their ancestors had made to the development of this province. During my own research and that of a handful of graduate students working on specific aspects of Fransaskois history, I soon realized that the source material available on this subject was too limited to foster such research. There seemed to be only one viable solution: the creation of a provincial historical society.

Following preliminary discussions with leaders of the francophone community, the idea of creating a historical society was presented to the Fransaskois attending the 1977 congress of the Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan (ACFC) in Saskatoon. The enthusiasm generated at that congress led to the creation and the incorporation of la Société historique de la Saskatchewan in 1978.

The goals of the Société and the means by which these goals were to be realized are clearly stated in articles six and seven of the constitution.

Article 6 — Buts

a. Étudier l'histoire des francophones de la Saskatchewan, à partir des débuts de l'exploration et de la colonisation dans la province jusqu'à nos jours.

b. Tenter de retrouver et de photocopier ou transcrire tous documents ayant trait à l'histoire des francophones de la province.

c. Encourager la recherche de l'histoire des francophones de la Saskatchewan.

Article 7 — Moyens d'action

a. Développer, par une revue périodique et par la publication de documents, un sens et un goût de l'histoire.

b. Tenter de faire publier les travaux ou les articles rédigés par les membres de la société ou tous les autres travaux jugés dignes de cette publication.

c. Faire appel au public afin de sauver des souvenirs, des portraits, des gravures, des documents, des plans anciens, des papiers de famille, et des documents précis et originaux qui conservent encore la mémoire des anciens.

d. Essayer de capter sur bandes magnétiques les souvenirs des anciens dont le souvenir s'efface rapidement.

e. Organiser des conférences sur des sujets d'histoire de la francophonie dans la Saskatchewan et des visites aux endroits historiques.

f. S'organiser avec les Archives provinciales afin d'avoir un dépôt pour ces documents, en plus d'essayer d'obtenir un endroit dans les Archives qui serait dédié à l'histoire de la francophonie.

g. Lancer des concours d'histoire locale dans les écoles.

h. Tenir les délibérations et les procès-verbaux en langue française.

The goals thus stated — to study the history of the Franco-Canadians in Saskatchewan, to collect records relating to this history, and to promote research — were to be achieved in a variety of ways. Through the publication of newsletters, articles, or other works, and through the holding of conferences and meetings, an awareness of this history would be more widely developed. By appealing to the members of the French community to save their family papers and organizational records and by interviewing the pioneers in all aspects of French life in the province, the importance of the preservation of the evidence of this history would be underscored.

During the drafting of the constitution, the newly-elected members of the executive approached the Provincial Archivist, Ian Wilson, to formalize an agreement concerning the permanent preservation of records collected. Thus as indicated in the final constitution, the historical documents collected by the Société historique would be donated to the Saskatchewan Archives Board where they would be preserved for posterity and identified as La Collection de la Société historique de la Saskatchewan.

Ruth Dyck Wilson, the archivist at the Saskatchewan Archives Board who sits on the executive of the Société historique, has referred to this agreement in a brief article in *La Chronique*[1], a portion of which is summarized here. This agreement offers advantages to the Société and the Saskatchewan Archives. The members of the Société, dispersed throughout the French communities in the province, are not only aware of the potential collections of documents which exist in these communities but can also identify those individuals who have made significant contributions to the French community and whose papers should be preserved for posterity. The Saskatchewan Archives has the necessary resources to arrange, describe, preserve, and make available to the public those records collected, as well as the facilities to copy those documents of provincial significance which are to be returned to the family or community of origin.

The first priority established by the Société historique was the collection of records pertaining to the history of the Franco-Canadians in the province. The Secretary of State provided a generous grant which permitted us to hire a staff member whose mandate was to travel to the various French-speaking communities scattered throughout the province and to collect all of the historical records available. These records were to be donated to the Saskatchewan Archives for arrangement, description, and preservation. The original three-month project generated so many records and contacts that the Saskatchewan Archives funded the collection project for an additional six months.

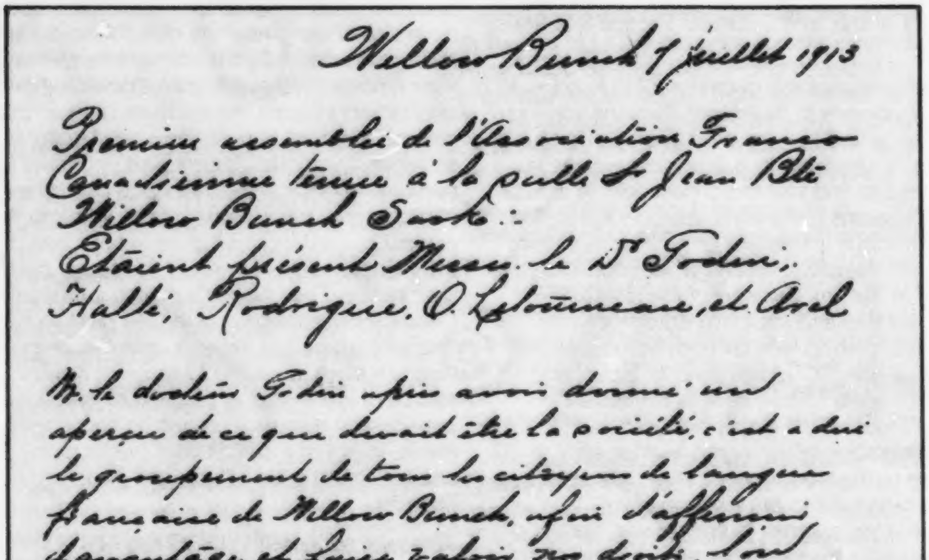
Three hundred and sixty centimeters of records were donated outright. Records loaned to the Archives for microfilming — by far the largest part of the collection — occupy one thousand meters of microfilm. The collection also includes, for example, over one thousand photographs, records of about twenty parishes, records of voluntary organizations, personal memoirs, diaries, reminiscences, and genealogies. To officially recognize the cooperation between the Saskatchewan Archives and the Société historique, the Saskatchewan Archives Board published a guide to this collection, as well as to the records already in the Archives pertaining to Franco-Canadian history and culture. The publication of the *Guide des sources historiques des francophones aux archives de la Saskatchewan* was assisted by funding from the federal/provincial programme, "Bilinguisme en éducation."

As the records were being processed by the staff of the Regina office of the Saskatchewan Archives, the Société historique decided that it would exploit the collection and publish a major book on the history of the Francophones in Saskatchewan. With the financial assistance of the Secretary of State and the Official Minority Language Office of the provincial Department of Education, a book *L'histoire des Franco-Canadiens de la Saskatchewan* will be appearing in the near future. As well, there are five other distinct research projects in various stages of development.

Thus in the seven years since the creation of the Société, the three main goals of the Société historique have been realized. One of the important factors in this success has been the collaboration with the Saskatchewan Archives Board. The Société historique does not have the human or financial resources, nor does it have the space and equipment, to process and preserve the records which have been collected. The agreement between the Saskatchewan Archives and the Société historique — greatly serving the interests of both organizations — has resulted in making available to researchers today and in the future a repository of records of significant research value.

Notes

1. Ruth Dyck, "Archives des francophones de la Saskatchewan," *La Chronique*, 8 (February 1979): 10-11.



Willow Bunch 1 juillet 1913

Première assemblée de l'Association Franco
Canadienne tenue à la salle St Jean Bte
Willow Bunch Sask:-
Étaient présent Messr. le Dr Godin;
Hallé; Rodrigue. O. Létourneau, et Arel

M. le docteur Godin après avoir donné un
aperçu de ce que devait être la société; c'est à dire
le groupement de tous les citoyens de langue
française de Willow Bunch, afin d'affermir
davantage et faire valoir nos droits, l'on
procéda à l'élection des officiers qui eut le
résultat suivant:-

Comme Président

Proposé par J. Arel secondé par Ovila Létour-
neau que Mr Hallé fut nommé président
accepté

Comme Vice Président

Proposé par Mr Rodrigue secondé par J. Arel
que Mr Alex Lespérance fut nommé vice-
président: accepté

Comme 2me Vice Président

Proposé par Ovila Létourneau secondé par
Mr Rodrigue que le Cap A. Lemieux fut
nommé 2me vice président:- unanimité

Minutes of the first meeting of the Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne in Willow Bunch, 1913. Saskatchewan Archives Board, Adrien Chabot Papers, Société historique de la Saskatchewan Collection, R-500.68, File 6.

The Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota

Stephanie Cain Van D'Elden

In the early sixties, several historians at the University of Minnesota were engaged in a study of educational developments on Minnesota's iron ranges. They soon became aware of the need for ethnic documentation to determine the interaction between schools and communities, since the majority of the population of the mining communities was of recent immigrant origin. While gathering such materials, they conceived the idea of a national collection of ethnic records. Thus the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) was established in 1965. The ethnic range of the Collection has been stabilized to a current list of twenty-four ethnic groups originating in Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe and the Near East.[1]

This ethnographic and geographical definition of the scope of the IHRC was established early in its history. Persons coming to the Center expecting to find documentation on Swedish, Norwegian, or German immigrants (the dominant groups in Minnesota) are surprised to find that these nationalities are not within our scope. The reasons are several: the concept which has shaped the IHRC's scope is that of the "new immigration," a term used to designate the influx which gained momentum in the 1880s and peaked in the first decades of the twentieth century. The eastern, central, and southern European, and Near Eastern immigration, which was far from homogeneous, comprised an enormous diversity of religions, cultures, and languages, which nonetheless shared several significant characteristics. Unlike much of the earlier northern and western European immigration which came seeking land, it was largely a response to the labour needs of an industrializing America. It, therefore, merged into the working class population of manufacturing centres, factory towns, and mining camps. The rationale for the Center's scope has also been based on the perception that these ethnic groups have been particularly neglected in terms of both documentation and historical study. Finally, the fact that the Minnesota Historical Society and other institutions were gathering the records of the northern and western European groups would make any effort on our part in that direction redundant. From time to time, the IHRC has been urged to enlarge its scope to include other groups, such as Mexican Americans or the recently arrived Vietnamese and Hmong. This temptation has been resisted because we believe that our chosen field of work requires our full attention. To extend the Center's scope to other immigrations would dilute our efforts and impair our ability to accomplish even our limited objectives. Other institutions, we believe, should address the unquestionable need to document the histories of those ethnic groups. And besides, we really do not have the space or the funds to deal with more ethnic groups.[2]

Remember, if you will, that the United States has no national programme of multiculturalism. In fact, the very concept of multiculturalism is foreign to most United States citizens. This makes our activities at the IHRC all the more unique. It also makes our funding unique: the Central Administration of the University of Minnesota supplies the IHRC with a building and utilities; the College of Liberal Arts with one and one-half positions; the University Libraries with a curator and a senior library assistant. The rest of the staff — secretarial, clerical, library — is on "soft money," grant money, usually awarded for a specific project, and donations. We have just completed a challenge grant offered by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for a total of $900,000. NEH provided $225,000, the Minnesota State Legislature another $225,000, and the remaining was raised by the IHRC. Much of the money came in donations from individuals, from $5 up. With the help of the assured income from our endowment fund created from the challenge grant, we will be able to complete a number of projects already planned, establish a modest grants-in-aid programme, and perhaps work our way back to the days of plentiful money when we had grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the NEH, and the Northwest Area Foundation. Scholars from the countries of emigration continue to visit the Center for periods of one week to three months.

For almost twenty years, the Center has been gathering documentation from all over the United States and from countries of emigration as well. These documents were for the most part created by the immigrants themselves. They include their newspapers, periodicals, books, almanacs, and anniversary albums; the archives of their churches, cultural groups, fraternal organizations, and political and labour societies; the diaries, letters, and papers of leaders and ordinary persons. In other words, all kinds of written records (as well as photographs) tell the story of the immigrants in their own words.[3] In carrying on this enormous task, the IHRC has had the indispensable support of the ethnic communities themselves. They have given their historical records to the Center for safekeeping, and they have also given substantial financial support to its work over the years. The IHRC is not simply a storehouse of old records; it is rather a dynamic source of leadership in the field of American ethnic and immigration history. Through its sponsorship of conferences, grants-in-aid of research, and publications, it has encouraged and facilitated research and the dissemination of research findings.

Whatever success the IHRC has had in building these ethnic collections, the key has been the cooperation and, indeed, generosity of the ethnic communities themselves. The degree of success can be suggested by citing a few statistics regarding the extent of the Center's current holdings (keeping in mind that the project began from ground zero some twenty years ago). The imprint collection includes over thirty-five thousand volumes of monographs and serials (including some two thousand periodical titles); files of more than six hundred and fifty newspapers in hard copy and microfilm (newspapers account for the bulk of the Center's forty-five thousand reels of microfilm); and manuscript holdings of over five hundred individual collections, totalling thirty-six hundred linear feet (approximately four million discrete documents). When compared to other research libraries, the Center's holdings may not in themselves appear overly impressive; however, many of the publications are rare and even unique items. The bulk of the imprint collection was published by the ethnic presses of North America in the native languages of the immigrant groups. The search for, and acquisition of, these materials has entailed years of sustained effort, hundreds of thousands of miles of travel, and tens of thousands of letters. But, apart from the microfilms, almost none of the collections themselves was purchased. They have come as gifts from individuals and institutions within the ethnic communities.

While each ethnic group has its distinctive configuration of institutions and organizations, reflective of its particular history, all groups appear to have had in common certain basic forms of association: publications (especially newspapers), churches, and mutual aid societies.[4] Although adapted to the special pattern of each group, the Center's collecting strategy has been to search out those ethnic institutions which, by their very nature, created written records. This approach has followed logically from the premise that our purpose is primarily to document the interior life of the immigrant/ethnic communities.

The common observation that the "new immigration" was characterized by a high percentage of illiteracy (although in truth, the proportion of literacy varied greatly according to nationality) led some historians to conclude that the eastern and southern Europeans were among the "inarticulate" who had left few, if any, written records. In fact, these ethnic groups published tens of thousands of serial titles (many of them short-lived, and with small circulations), of which the Center holds only a fraction. One of the constant objectives of the IHRC, then, has been to gather and preserve (by microfilming whenever possible) the ethnic press.[5] In these publications, more often weeklies or monthlies than dailies, one finds a spectrum of points-of-view, concerns, and aspirations, as well as a chronicle of events.

Our experience with two extensive microfilm projects, the Polish Microfilm Project (PMP) and the Carpatho-Ruthenian Microfilm Project (CRMR),[6] persuaded us that systematic projects are more productive than *ad hoc* filming of individual titles. We also learned that such projects require large amounts of staff time, considerable funding, and ethnic sponsorship. With the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago, the IHRC developed the Ethnic Records Microform Project (ERMP) to undertake such microfilming on a continuing basis.[7] The ERMP was to be supported by subscriptions of member institutions. However, it failed to generate sufficient subscriptions to create a revolving fund. Nonetheless we are convinced that the principle remains valid; we shall only be able to accomplish the vast task of microfilming the ethnic press through a collective effort involving all interested institutions. Two additional projects are currently in the planning stages: to microfilm Finnish-American and Italian-American newspapers. The Ukrainian National Association (UNA) is funding a three-year project to index the Ukrainian newspaper *Svoboda*. The first volume, 1893-1924, should appear within the next six months.

Another important dimension of the culture of all immigrant groups was religion. Priests and ministers were among the few educated persons to be found in many ethnic communities. Religious orders of women such as the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart and the Felician Sisters, which served the Italian and Polish communities respectively, played important and varied roles in establishing schools, hospitals and orphanages. The records of churches, seminaries, convents, and other religious agencies are obviously essential to an understanding of such issues. Beyond the religious sphere *per se*, church records also tell us a great deal about the immigrant populations: records of baptisms, marriages, and burials, for example, are prime sources for the study of family reconstitution, social and residential mobility, and demography.

Even before they established a church, the immigrants ordinarily formed a mutual aid society. A group of townsmen would organize such a society to provide sick and death benefits and fellowship. Gradually these mutual aid societies federated into national fraternal organizations with tens, even hundreds of thousands of members. In addition to providing insurance for their members, the fraternals played important roles in almost every aspect of ethnic life. As sources of investment capital, they provided loans for home purchases and business ventures. Through their publications, schools, summer camps, youth groups, and social activities, they were primary agencies for cultural and language maintenance. The fraternals simultaneously taught ethnic nationalism and American patriotism, keeping a close eye on developments in the old country and responding to wars, crises, and natural disasters with relief efforts and lobbying in Washington.

Our most successful collection and fund-raising activities have concentrated on specific ethnic groups: for example, recent efforts have focused on Finnish-American, Near Eastern-American, and Greek-American immigrants.

The Minnesota Finnish American Family History Project sponsored and funded by the Minnesota Historical Society, the Finnish American Historical Society, and the Immigration History Research Center was initiated for the writing and collecting of family histories among Minnesota Finnish Americans. Besides the funding provided by the sponsoring organizations which ran from November 1979 to September 1981, volunteers played a significant role, acting in such capacities as consultants, bookkeepers, auditors, and holding workshops, gathering material, and taping interviews.

The goal of the family histories was to "... relate to the broader historical setting and describe how these immigrant settlers and their descendants affected the general community through their personal actions and involvement with both ethnic and non-ethnic groups and associations ... *[and]* to explore the experience of Finnish Americans in a more intimate and personal dimension centering on the family as a foundation of ethnic communities and as the vehicle for preserving and transmitting an ethnic heritage, language and culture."[8]

Publication of the *Handbook for Doing Finnish American Family History* by Carl Ross and Velma M. Doby[9] served to give project participants common direction. Participants were all volunteers, not a scientifically chosen sampling, but representing major areas of Finnish settlement throughout the state of Minnesota. The handbook, by the way, is a useful guide for doing any kind of family history, concentrating on the broader cultural and political environment rather than on genealogical studies.

The family histories gathered and written by project participants range from brief genealogical summaries of family history to extensive narratives relating the experience of several generations to which several family members contributed — some with extensive photographs and supplementary materials. Cassettes of taped interviews represent a major part of the collection. These are currently being indexed. Interviews were conducted mostly, but not exclusively, with the elderly; in fact this was a priority in the interviewing programme. A large number of women participants gave a comprehensive account of what it was like to be a Finnish woman immigrant or a woman growing up in and living in a Minnesota Finnish community. Most interviews were conducted in English, some in Finnish. The informants were articulate and knowledgeable about events of their lifetimes and provided relevant information beyond their personal and family experiences. The participants demonstrated a remarkable command of the language chosen as the primary language. From a linguistic point of view it is interesting to note that there was little evidence of a "misch masch" language, sometimes derogatorily described as "Finglish." In summary, the collection is proving valuable to historians, sociologists, linguists, and folklorists.

The interest generated by the Finnish American Family History Project has been maintained within the Finnish community. We are still collecting oral interviews, and many of the participants have donated family materials to the IHRC, the repository for the project materials. Furthermore, Finnish Americans have become aware of their ethnic heritage and the importance of preserving it. And in this connection they have organized to form the United Fund for Finnish American Archives for the purpose of collecting funds to microfilm Finnish-American newspapers. The money raised has been divided between Suomi College in Hancock, Michigan, and the IHRC. A national search has begun for missing issues of Finnish-American newspapers so that complete runs can be filmed at one time.

In addition to the Finnish American Family History Project and the United Fund for Finnish American Archives, yet another Finnish-American project is currently underway: "Reunion of Sisters: A 1985-86 Celebration of Finnish-American Women Together with Their Sisters in Finland." This is a two-year programme of cooperation between Finnish-American women and women in Finland to explore the feminist tradition and experience of these two groups that share cultural roots but have had a different historical experience over several generations. The object is to derive a better understanding of the unique character of Finnish feminism both in America and Finland, and to learn about the influence of ethnic heritage and culture in the lives of American women.

Similarly a series of activities clustered around the acquisition of the Philip K. Hitti papers. Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures of Princeton University, and teacher of several generations of scholars, politicians, and businessmen, Hitti was a visiting professor at the University of Minnesota in 1967. He was impressed that a midwestern state university was concerned with the preservation of the Near Eastern heritage which he held so dear. When he died in 1978, his daughter Viola Hitti Winder and her husband Professor R. Bayly Winder donated the Philip K. Hitti papers to the IHRC's Near Eastern-American Collection. In conjunction with the deposit of the papers, a Philip K. Hitti Memorial Fund was established for the development of the Near Eastern-American Collection, the promotion of research in the Collection, and the sponsorship of lectures and publications based on such research. The purpose of the Fund is to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the role of Americans of Near Eastern origin in the building of the society and culture of the United States. With money donated to the Fund and with a grant from the Minnesota Humanities Commission, the IHRC sponsored the First Philip K. Hitti International Symposium on Near Eastern-American Studies entitled "The Arabic-Speaking Immigration to North American to World War II." A symposium held on June 3-4, 1983, in St. Paul, Minnesota, brought together for the first time Arab-American scholars across the country, scholars who had worked in relative isolation.[10] The symposium served to review the work already done on the Near Eastern-American community, indicating directions that current work is taking and identifying individuals who are pursuing specific projects; it also brought scholars, writers, educators, and community leaders together in a climate in which they could share their interests, insights, and enthusiasm, thereby advancing the work Philip K. Hitti began sixty years ago.

This is an example of a connection made many years ago which led to the acquisition of an important collection, which led to a memorial fund, and which in turn generated interest in putting on a conference out of which will undoubtedly come publications, more collections, and more conferences.

We hope to achieve similar success with the Theodore Saloutos papers which were donated to the IHRC by his wife Florence Saloutos upon her husband's death in 1980. In order to finance the processing of these papers (some fifty boxes of materials) the Greek community of the Twin Cities, in conjunction with the IHRC, sponsored a series of fund-raising events including lectures by Nicolas Gage and Charles Moskos. We are currently in the process of establishing a Theodore Saloutos Memorial Fund for Greek-American Studies. The first goal will be to process the papers; subsequently we hope to have funds for lecture tours, exhibits, and grants-in-aid for research into Greek-American studies.

Each of these projects serves to increase the interest in ethnic studies, to bring additional funding to the IHRC, and to bring additional materials to the collections of the IHRC. Thus, concentrating on a single ethnic group seems to create a snowballing effect. The same phenonemon was evident when we focused on a single subject area, such as the International Institutes of America, and ethnic fraternal organizations.

The International Institutes, founded by the YWCA and initially conceived as agencies to assist immigrant women, gradually expanded their concerns to the immigrant family and community. Unlike many social service agencies which were zealously seeking to Americanize the foreign-born, the Institutes from their beginning encouraged ethnic groups to retain and cultivate their own languages and cultures.

The National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NPRC) awarded a grant to the IHRC in 1977 to carry out a "survey and accessioning" project involving International Institute records. A major goal of the project was to generate interest in the proper care and preservation of International Institute records. Since the beginning of the project, a number of agencies have transferred their records to archival repositories. The publication resulting from the project, *The International Institute Movement: A Guide to Records of Immigrant Service Agents in the United States,*[11] describes the pertinent records of the American Council for Nationalities Service (ACNS) and its predecessor organizations, the American Federation of International Institutes (AFII) and the National Institute of Immigrant Welfare (NIIW), as well as the relevant records of the National Board of the YWCA, reports on the records of fifty-seven institutes, agencies, or departments surveyed by the project, twenty-nine of which are still active today, and describes collections of personal papers left by, and oral history interviews given by Institute staff or board members.

Begun also in 1977, the Ethnic Fraternal Project funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities included taking a national survey of the records of more than one hundred fraternal benefit associations, microfilming selected records, holding a conference for archivists who deal with ethnic fraternal records, and holding a workshop for fraternal officers on how to care for their records. Fraternal membership applications and death claims contain information regarding place of birth, occupation, and family which is of great value for quantitative studies of a demographic and community character.

Microfilming selected records of fraternal benefit associations was a major part of this project. The microfilming costs were partially covered by matching grants from cooperating ethnic fraternals. Copies of the microfilms are held by the fraternals, by the IHRC, as well as by some other local repositories.

A direct result of the archivists' conference and the records survey is the publication *Ethnic Fraternal Benefit Associations in the United States: Essays and Inventories*.[12] This volume is intended to stimulate and facilitate the use of ethnic fraternal records for research. It includes essays on the history and development of ethnic fraternal benefit associations and entries for each of the 117 fraternals including information about its organizational history, activities, and existing records. The workshop for fraternal officers culminated in the publication of *Archival Care for Fraternal Records: Administrative and Policy Basics*.[13]

Amnesia, the loss of memory, is a frightening prospect. Not to know one's name, one's identity, one's past, must be a terrible experience. If history is our collective memory, then there is the possibility of collective as well as individual amnesia. It is possible for a people, for a community, to forget its past, to lose its history. Our function as record-keepers and historians is the preservation of our collective memory.

Notes

1. The ethnic groups are Albanian, Armenian, Bulgarian, Byelorussian, Carpatho-Ruthenian, Croatian, Czech, Estonian, Finnish, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Jewish (East European), Latvian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Near Eastern, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, and Ukrainian.
2. Cf., Rudolph J. Vecoli, "'Diamonds in Your Own Backyard': Developing Documentation on European Immigrants to North America," *Ethnic Forum* 1, no. 2 (September 1981): 2-16.
3. A recent issue of *Spectrum*, the IHRC's publication, summarized the autobiographies in the IHRC collections, "In Their Own Words: Immigrant Autobiographies," *Spectrum* 4, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 1-8.
4. See: "The Ethnic Press: Many Voices," *Spectrum* 3, no. 2 (March 1980): 1-12. "Immigrants and Religion: The Persistence of Ethnic Diversity," *Spectrum* 1, no. 3 (September 1975): 1-2, 4-9. "From Farm to Factory: Immigrant Adjustment To American Industry," *Spectrum* 1, no. 2 (May 1975): 1-9. "American and Europe's Refugees, 1933-1958," *Spectrum* 2, no. 2 (September 1976): 1-7. "'For Mutual Moral and Material Assistance': The Ethnic Fraternal in America," *Spectrum* 2, no. 3 (December 1976): 1-7. "International Institutes: Reaching Out to Immigrant Communities in America," *Spectrum* 3, no. 1 (May 1977): 1-7.
5. Pietro Russo of the University of Florence has identified over fifteen hundred titles of Italian-American publications.
6. The PMP is described by the project coordinator, Edward V. Kolyszko in his article, "Preserving the Polish Heritage in America: The Polish Microfilm Project," *Polish American Studies* 32 (Spring 1975): 59-63. For a report on the CRMP and listing of the titles see Frank Renkiewicz, comp., *The Carpatho-Ruthenian Microfilm Project: A Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals* (St. Paul, Minnesota: IHRC, 1979). Two additional projects are currently in the planning stages: to microfilm Finnish-American and Italian-American newspapers.
7. Edward V. Kolyszko, "Preserving Ethnic Records on Microfilm: The Ethnic Records Microform Project," *Microform Review* 2 (October 1973).
8. Carl Ross and Velma M. Doby, "Minnesota Finnish American Family History Project, November 1979 - June 1, 1981, Summary Report," 2.
9. Carl Ross and Velma M. Doby, *Handbook for Doing Finnish American Family History* (New York Mills, Minnesota: Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society, 1981).
10. Philip K. Hitti, "The First Philip K. Hitti International Symposium on Near Eastern American Studies," *Spectrum* 4, no. 3 (Winter/Spring 1984): 1-10.
11. *Guide to Records of Immigrant Service Agencies in the United States* (St. Paul, Minnesota: IHRC, 1978).
12. *Records of Ethnic Fraternal Benefit Associations in the United States: Essays and Inventories* (St. Paul, Minnesota: IHRC, 1981).
13. Susan Henderson Shreve, *Archival Care for Fraternal Records: Administrative and Policy Basics* (St. Paul, Minnesota: IHRC, 1981).

Workshop Presentations

Using Oral History in Multicultural Studies

Krzysztof Gebhard

The purpose of my presentation today is to talk about *oral history*: its possibilities as well as limitations in researching and documenting the history of immigration and life within the ethnocultural communities in Saskatchewan.

The history of Saskatchewan is a history of its Native peoples and the immigrants that followed. An overwhelming number of the early pioneers were European immigrants to Canada. Successive waves of newcomers in the 1920s, an influx of refugees after World War II, and the arrival of people from Asia during the 1960s and through to the present day have resulted in a population that is ethnoculturally diverse. To survey and analyse the historical development of Saskatchewan, one must take into account the impact of immigration.

Let us for a moment or two place ourselves in the position of historical researchers about to begin a study of ethnic settlement in this province. We would begin by reading all possible published secondary sources; that is, books and articles in journals and magazines. Next we would consult the available "official sources" of information such as government records, newspapers, and city directories. These sources would help us establish such things as where and when the immigrants settled, their occupations, their social and educational status, and levels of mobility in these areas. But these sources, as valuable as they may be, would allow us only a partial understanding of the group.

Therefore, the next step for us would be to examine the published and unpublished sources that were generated within the ethnic community itself. I shall not go into detail about the nature of these materials as the subject is being covered in other workshops at this Conference. Briefly, they include personal diaries and family records, church records and publications, records of sports and social clubs, mutual aid organizations, credit unions, and political organizations.

But after locating all these materials and analysing them, we probably would realize that many gaps still remain. We would realize that despite the mountains of paper documents in front of us, we are missing the human dimension. At this point, then, we must consult the available "living documents." What better source is there for gathering impressions, opinions and attitudes, than the actual participant, organizer, leader, parishioner, or witness?

Here lies the importance of oral history in documenting the history of ethnic groups. You all know that more often than not, the immigrant's story, due to lack of inclination, leisure time, opportunity, literary skill, or knowledge of the English language, has probably remained unrecorded. At the Saskatchewan Archives, for instance, we have a considerable number of written pioneer memoirs; however, they document primarily the pioneer experiences of Anglo-Saxon, German, and Scandinavian settlers. Fifty years from now students are going to come along intending to prepare an anthology of pioneer reminiscences and will find that these pioneer memoirs do not accurately reflect the Saskatchewan experience.

In seeking a balance and attempting to document the history and contributions of all the groups in Saskatchewan, we at the Archives have been actively collecting, recording, and promoting oral histories of the various immigrant groups in the province for over a decade. We now have collections of tape recorded interviews from over twenty-five ethnocultural groups in the province, amounting to hundreds of hours of richly detailed, and often emotional historical accounts. These recordings have been used for research purposes by professional and amateur historians, linguists, journalists, playwrights, and others.

I have now been talking about oral history for several minutes and I have not come around to defining it. It is sometimes much easier to talk about it, than to pin down what oral history is or is not. Despite the popularity of oral history, many people are still confused when they hear the term. We still get the odd researcher who calls the Archives, asks for the person responsible for oral history, and wonders if we might have his grandfather's dental records.

Therefore, let me try to define oral history. To the best of my knowledge, it can be defined as a technique for collecting information based upon the personal experiences of those who were participants in, or witnesses of, particular events. At its best it results in the informed and thoughtful views of an individual on a topic or topics, while stimulated, guided, and directed by an informed interviewer.

An oral historian is not necessarily a historian, but an interviewer or collector with a historian's perspective. The interview itself is not history — nor is any oral history collection. It is simply historical evidence containing primary material to be used as other source material is used, and to be critically judged in the same way. Some individuals object to the inherent subjectivity and potential partisanship to be found in this type of material. But we must remember that no personal record is ever completely free from bias, not even correspondence, diaries, or autobiographies.

Oral history records are able to provide us with three basic categories of information: sensory, complementary, and original. Let me outline these three categories, and offer a few suggestions on how each one can be applied to your particular situation.

Sensory information: The fact that the primary document here is a tape recording makes it unique. No written document stimulates the senses as does recorded sound. The recording contains not only information but also contains numerous conversational characteristics which simply would not be available in a textual document. The material then has potential to be used not only by historians but by linguists, folklorists and to be presented through a variety of media, such as radio broadcasts, and slide and tape presentations.

Complementary information: I have already mentioned that most researchers of contemporary events discover sooner or later that gaps remain in their sources. One of the better ways, then, is to fill these gaps by using the tape recorder. I believe that using oral history to complement your collection efforts would be quite fruitful. For example, it is quite unlikely that you will be able to find complete records of any church. Little information may exist about a particular priest or minister, building committee, ladies' or mens' auxiliary club, or even the leaders of youth organizations. Chances are usually quite good that there are still those in the community whose memories can be tapped for the missing information.

Original information: We have also already touched on this category. Here the oral history method is used as the sole source of information. This is particularly true in the study of groups or individuals who produce few or no written records of their activities and daily existence. The benefits of this application, then are quite obvious.

Oral history is now recognized as a fundamental, and sometimes primary tool in the study of ethnocultural communities. Oral history is a valuable means of documenting Native religions, cultural and social experiences. Immigration, resettlement, culture shock, and the struggle for survival and success in a new country — important events in the lives of many foreign-born persons — can also be documented in this way. I am certain that most of us in this room have heard many fascinating stories which began, "When I was young ..."

Therefore, oral history can be used not only to collect valuable source material, but also to recognize the many people who have contributed to the development of our province. Oral history allows them to record their personal values and impressions. And it is up to archivists, historians, other social scientists, local history groups, ethnocultural, and multicultural associations to tap this valuable source.

Native women and children at Lac La Ronge, ca. 1953. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B852.

The Craik Oral History Society

Violet Spencer

It is my intention to tell you a few things about the history and achievements of the Craik Oral History Society, to speak of related programmes, and to guess where we are headed.

Our first tape dates back to June of 1971. It is a tape of the music of McNabb's Orchestra, a dance band made up of the McNabb brothers who farmed near Girvin. Their music brings back memories to hundreds of people who danced to it in the great days of the twenties, the depressing thirties, and the war years of the forties. The band is history now and we are so lucky to have some of its music on cassette. That tape has also given us some problems. Copies of the tape would have great monetary value, but our Society honours a request of the McNabbs that the tape never be copied for sale. Indeed we have a firm set of standards — built up painstakingly — to walk the narrow line between keeping the confidence of our informants and ensuring that their history is made available where it would be helpful.

Our association evolved naturally from Craik's Prairie Pioneer Museum Association in the early seventies. It became an entity unto itself for two reasons. First, some persons were willing to participate in a taping programme provided they were not asked to become involved in the arduous volunteer work required at the museum. Secondly, in order to achieve our goals, we needed to form a Society to be eligible for the grants from the federal government's New Horizons programme and from other sources. We have been fortunate that grants have been supplied as we needed them. Indeed we have never been handicapped by lack of money! We have also had much help and encouragement from knowledgeable people — and endless cooperation within our community.

About the time that the members of the museum decided to investigate the possibilities of an oral history programme, the University of Regina offered a class in taping oral history with Dr. Cosby as instructor. I was the person chosen from our group to attend. Dr. Cosby impressed upon his students that Saskatchewan is unique in that much of our history is still in living memory. His class and subsequent assistance launched our programme. The senior citizens bought tapes and stood ready to place the early history of the community on tape.

Our first goal was to build a collection of one hundred tapes, in duplicate. One set was to be safely stored and the other was to be made available for listening. We initially built two cabinets for the two sets — our president and a local craftsman made them large enough to hold five hundred tapes each! However, they are now almost full and we are planning to build another set to match. As part of the first project we held workshops, bought recorders and speakers, made record books, and met regularly to discuss and learn.

About the time we were becoming confident about our project, we learned that a social studies teacher in the high school had his students tape an interview with a local person about the early history; this interview was then marked for their final exams. The teacher has become a valuable member of our Society and the students' tapes have become part of our collection.

A study of those tapes shows some interesting things. In the beginning the student interviewers were reluctant, shy, hesitant, and even resentful. Their informants were concerned mainly in ensuring a good mark for the students. The interviews took a variety of interesting forms — some were very short, some were recorded on poor equipment, some were primarily questions with little regard for answers. One particularly concerned grandparent wrote out both the questions and answers; then she and the student simply read the composition onto the tape. Over the years it can be seen, however, that the informants have developed a real sense of the true value of passing on their experiences to the students. They now use the taping event as an opportunity to pass on family history and advice.

From an ethnocultural perspective, our tapes contain a great variety of information, possibly because our community never had a large settlement of any one nationality. Settlers came from many parts of the world, and it seems, judging from the tapes, they had little difficulty in adjusting to their neighbours although, occasionally, differences based on ethnic backgrounds occurred. And, of course, we had the Ku Klux Klan but no one has spoken of that!

We quickly realized that the taping programme could not stand alone, so we seized opportunities and we created circumstances. For example in 1980, in cooperation with the school, we planned an elaborate contest which resulted in forty-three taped interviews. We widened the students' approach by suggesting topics and informants. The local bank and grain elevator companies supplied money for prizes. The "all-around best tape" on well-digging in the early days won in the categories of technical perfection, excellent rapport between interviewer and informant, collection of additional material, and was awarded the grand prize.

The Children and Grandparents Oral History Project sponsored by the Saskatchewan Archives Board in 1980 gave us an excellent selection of interviews recorded by a different, younger segment of our society. People who would not have wished to be interviewed by us told their stories to these young interviewers.

Our next big project was the collection of photographs. We keep negatives in the bank vault and eight-by-ten-inch copies in binders. At first we copied only photographs that were directly related to the interviews. Now we also copy some photographs which are more generally related to our local history and about which some information is available. Our collection now numbers about four hundred photographs and by showing them, we bring in more stories.

Our next big undertaking was to find a permanent home. In about 1980 the Craik Town Hall was declared a heritage building. We set our sights on the large room at the front of the building. The town was cooperative, we searched out grants, and volunteer help was plentiful. We opened the room on the weekend of the "1905-1950 Craik School Reunion" in 1983. It is a large pleasant room; we open it for visitors and we use it as a workroom for taping interviews.

I expect that we will find our next useful part to play as we go along. We believe that we will have in our collection things of local interest which would otherwise be destroyed. Already we have a trickle of visitiors looking for information about early settlers. The room is a point of interest to visitors and weekend "homecomers." Lately we have been requested to store family photographs and papers so they will be available to relatives and other visitors coming from a distance, and I see that as a valuable service. Meanwhile we continue to tape oldtimers' stories, and we tape local events. This weekend we will tape the talk of the author, John Charyk, at the library, and the high school talent night. I hope I have given you some useful hints, and some motivation to tape *your* story.

Record-Keeping and Archives: An Information System for Organizations

Kathlyn Szalasznyj

Virtually every organization, regardless of its aims or particular orientation, creates or acquires a body of stored information in the course of its day-to-day activities and in the pursuit of its interests. This stored information in active administrative use comprises the "records" of the organization. When the documents no longer in active administrative use are collected and to some degree systematically put together and retained for purposes of record or reference, they are called the "archives" of the organization.[1] Whether the information consists of several files, a fifty-meter rainbow of colour-coded records, the minutes of yesterday's meeting, or conference programmes from forty-odd years ago, the arrangement, care, and use of this recorded information is an important concern to the organization itself and to those interested in the organization's past.

I will be discussing some of the important aspects of two separate fields: "records management,"[2] which involves the maintenance of records in active administrative use, and "archives management," involving the care of historically valuable records no longer used for administrative purposes. Both of these subjects are worthy of full and separate treatment,[3] and I would invite those interested to draw on the abundant supply of literature existing on each of them.

I would like to begin with a look at some of the chief characteristics of stored information as they pertain to organizations. One main characteristic is that the purposes, concerns, and activities of each organization are unique. Hence, the body of information generated by one organization will differ from that of any other. This uniqueness must be recognized if one is working with the records of more than one organization, for example, in an archival repository or a records centre. The records of each organization must be maintained as a separate and distinct unit rather than in any combined form.

This uniqueness must also be respected if one is developing a records or archives system for a particular organization. The arrangement of materials must reflect the particular historical administrative structure and life of the organization, because the information was created or acquired in the natural course of the organization's existence, and the various types of materials and their parts reflect the ebb and flow of its life. In archives' terms, this rule of arrangement is called "provenance": the principle that materials must be arranged or grouped according to their origin.[4]

Another main characteristic is that the creation and preservation of stored information is dependent on the cooperative efforts of many individuals. We must include those who created the documents or acquired them, managed office files, examined old records to determine whether they should be retained, as well as those who might report on their storage and physical condition from time to time.

While cooperation is important, one must remember that there remains but one authority, one "owner" of the records and past materials. It is the organization, itself. It is the organization's voice, usually in the form of an executive or members' vote, that must be heard in determining the future of the organization's documents. This assertion of authority — a "rising up to claim one's own," so to speak — is at the heart of any policy concerning the preservation, care, and use of an organization's records and archives.

A question that might come to mind is why are these materials worth keeping? They are worth retaining because they constitute the corporate memory of the organization, revealing much about executive, administrative, and fiscal decisions, the relationships and interests of the body, its membership, and regular activities. Within the documents accumulated are those vital to the organization's functioning, its legal status, and its historical identity. The records — and upon collection, selection, and arrangement, the archives — are vital to understanding the organization's past.

Why is an information system necessary? Anyone who has had to hunt for a misplaced letter, a lost financial statement, or minutes that simply disappeared, could provide the answer. The system's purpose is to store safely and provide promptly information required by the organization or by others, with an eye to tomorrow, to maintain the historical identity of the organization, by preserving past records while "housekeeping" certain other materials which may be destroyed, and to keep certain "vital information" safe so that the organization can continue to function effectively should disaster occur.

What can one expect of an information system? It should be geared to both the use and the protection of the materials. It should provide efficient retrieval of information, taking into account the extent of communication needs and reference inquiries. By this it prevents inconvenience, embarrassment, and potential financial loss. The system should be no more complex than is absolutely necessary, and be relatively simple to implement, operate and maintain; it should be capable of easy revision should more materials be added in the future, and it should be adaptable to all forms and volume of materials involved. While the development of such a system might seem like a mammoth or next to impossible task, I would like to offer some step by step guidelines that might be of assistance.

The Beginning: A Preliminary Survey and Formal Policy

The preliminary survey is a brief examination of the various records of the organization in the light of the organization's history, any authority governing the records, and the location and storage of materials. The value of the preliminary survey cannot be overstated, as from it much useful information can be gained.

The following questions might be raised during the survey:

1. Have official decisions regarding the maintenance and preservation of the records and archives of the organization been made by the organization's executive or its members? For example, has a records' or archives' policy been documented in any of the official minutes of the body, or perhaps been established in the organization's constitution? Who presently decides which materials should be kept and who might have access to the records?
2. Where are the records and archival materials?
3. Who within the organization created the past records and who creates the present ones; for example, the office of the president, secretary, treasurer, or various committee members?
4. Is there a detectable arrangement to the existing materials that might reflect administrative or functional

units within the organization? If so, this order should be preserved as it may have an important bearing on the arrangement of the records and archives.

5. Where are the records stored? What space is allocated to them? Are they in suitable containers or boxes?

6. Who currently uses them? What types of materials are subject to more use than others?

7. Who determines equipment and supply needs? Is there a budget for the care of records and archival materials?

Following the preliminary survey, the organization should establish a formal policy concerning its records and archives, documented by the organization's authorities. One of the first steps is the appointment of a records committee for handling the current records, and an archivist (or an archives committee) to carry on the work of locating and organizing the organization's archives.

Types of Records

In the process of examining the stored information of the organization, definable categories of materials will be observed. There are current records to which frequent reference is made for administrative purposes and day-to-day decisions, including financial ledgers, correspondence files, minutes, committee reports, and submissions. A major concern is physical accessibility to these records. They might be best kept on hand at the organization's office, or held by current officers or members of the organization.

Archival materials, such as past financial records, correspondence, minutes, photographs, newsclippings, and anniversary publications must also be properly cared for by an appointed archivist. These records may be kept in suitable facilities on the premises, or the alternative of transferring them to an archival repository might be considered. The Saskatchewan Archives Board, with offices in Regina and Saskatoon, has been involved in preserving the records of groups and organizations as a part of its ongoing work of preserving the documentary history of our province. Records transferred to the Archives are arranged, described, and stored in accordance with established archival procedure and are available for research purposes according to donors' specifications. The Archives also maintains a very active microfilming programme, creating copies of records for preservation purposes, while original records are returned to their owners. It should also be added that the Archives staff is available to provide consultation to organizations on the care and arrangement of records, through workshops and speaking engagements. The Archives also serves as a contact for a variety of archival supplies, receiving orders for materials and selling them at cost price to those requiring them.

Another category of materials are those that might have served a particular need but are no longer used for administrative purposes, often containing information found in other records. Examples of these kinds of records are invoices, bills, requisitions, and donation receipts. After careful examination of the materials and after checking on the legal requirements pertaining to the retention and disposal of different types of records, these records might be destroyed periodically. Caution and a detailed checking of the most recent regulations in effect are urged before any of the records are destroyed.

Another category is termed "vital" records. These are materials, which if preserved safely, could in event of disaster allow the organization to continue functioning and assist in recovering its operations. Included in this category are such documents as constitutions, bylaws, land titles records, a certificate of incorporation, and lists of current and past executive members. While many of these documents are replaceable with time, for example, land titles records, the immediate lack of information could cause much inconvenience. It is recommended that these records, or copies of them, be kept in a safe, fireproof environment, either on the office premises or at another location.

The Arrangement of Materials

During the preliminary survey, one becomes familiar with ithe origin of the records and learns about the organization's past activities and structure. This knowledge will assist very much in determining an arrangement for the materials.

For archives, the object is to arrange the records in categories reflecting their creation rather than arranging them by subject or in chronological order. One might think of it as a *functional arrangement*, depicting the organic nature of the records and the relationship of the different series within the broader unit. Without such an arrangement, the evidential and informational value of the records is placed in serious jeopardy.[5]

While it is difficult to provide an actual framework for the arrangement of every kind of record because arrangements are specific to each individual organization and its unique records, an example of records arranged in the above way is:

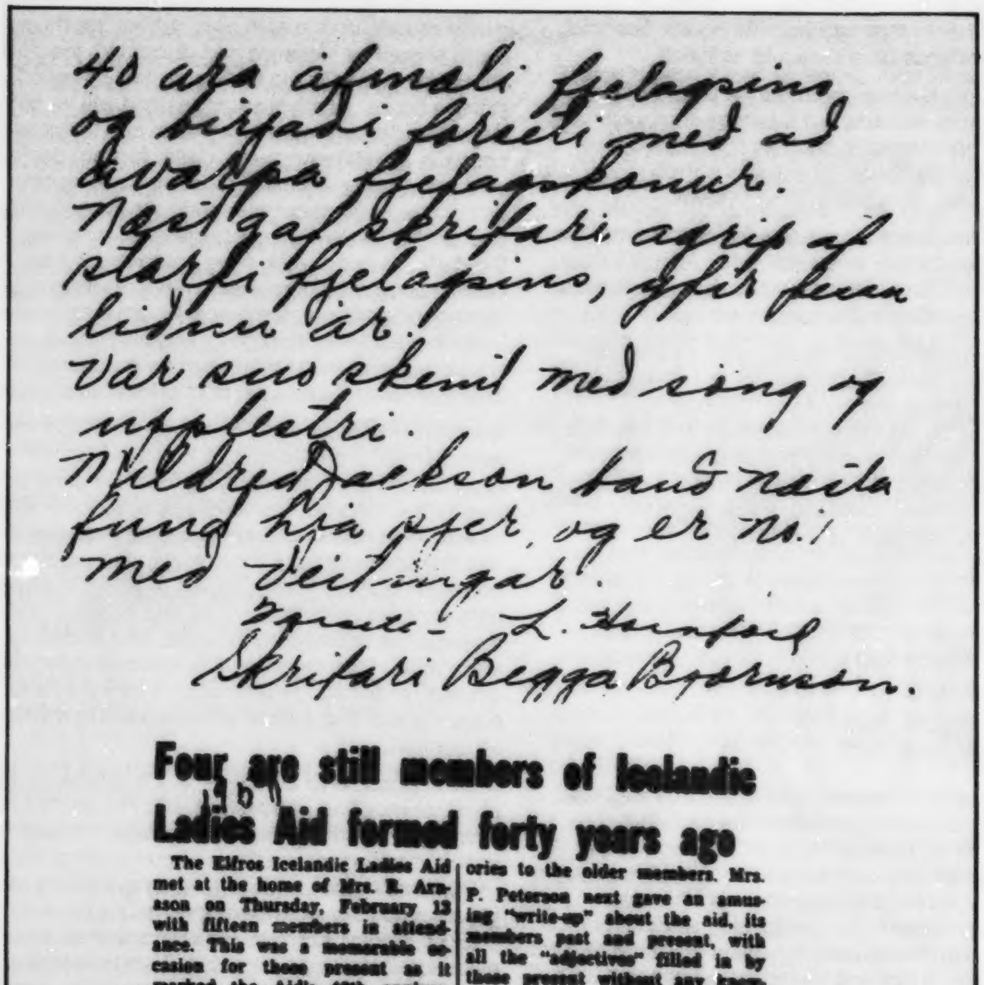
I. Minutes: Executive Meetings
II. Minutes: Annual Meetings
III. Presidents' Files
IV. Secretary-Treasurers' Files
V. Committee Files

Once the broader units of arrangement have been determined, it is necessary to organize materials into various subcategories, observing closely to detect the presence of an original order established when the records were created. A number of subcategories follow. When looking at these, bear in mind that many organizations rely on an admixture of these subcategories to meet their various informational needs.

Alphabetical: This arrangement can be applied to the names of individuals, organizations, places, and subjects. An alphabetical arrangement can be expanded as more records are added, unless one is using letters of the alphabet to denote whole categories (such as A. Minutes; B. Presidents' Files; C. Committees;) as the number of categories may exhaust the alphabet before long. The use of an alphabetical arrangement of records within a functional category might be:

V. Committee Files
    1. Audio-Visual, 1978.
    2. Constitution, 1962-1981.
    3. Legislation, 1948-1964.
    4. Task Force, 1977-1981.

Chronological: The use of an overall chronological arrangement is not generally recommended for the broader units of arrangement, except it can be useful for various kinds of financial records or those for activities with steps in a prolonged process, such as the renewal of contracts or the maintenance of equipment. However, there are certain kinds of records that might be held in chronological order within particular units, because they are already so arranged and may



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og birjaði forseti með að
ávarpa fjelagskonur.
Næst gaf skrifari ágrip af
starfi fjelagsins, yfir fjeru
liðnu ár.
Var svo skemt með söng og
upplestri.
Mildred Jackson bauð næsta
fund hjá sjer, og er No. 1
með veitingar.
Forseti – L. Hornford
Skrifari Begga Bjarnason.

Four are still members of Icelandic Ladies Aid formed forty years ago

The Elfros Icelandic Ladies Aid met at the home of Mrs. B. Arnason on Thursday, February 13 with fifteen members in attendance. This was a memorable occasion for those present as it marked the Aid's 40th anniversary.

The first meeting was held at the home of Mrs. E. G. Jackson on Thursday, February 12, 1918. Of the ten ladies who attended that first meeting four are still members, Mrs. P. Peterson and Mrs. Tobba Stephanson who are active members and two honorary members Mrs. Jonina Bjarnason and Mrs. Helga Sveinbjornson. Two of the original 10 members are living at the west coast, Mrs. Helga Paulson at White Rock and Mrs. H. Bjarnason at Vancouver, B.C.

At the close of the business meeting the president Mrs. W. Hornford addressed the gathering recalling many interesting incidents as well as many former members. She then called upon the secretary Mrs. J. B. Bjarnason who gave a very interesting outline of the Aid's activities over the past forty years, which of course, brought back fond memories to the older members. Mrs. P. Peterson next gave an amusing "write-up" about the aid, its members past and present, with all the "adjectives" filled in by those present without any knowledge of what the adjectives were for. Next a duet by Mrs. Peterson and Mrs. Sigurdson, composed about the aid for the occasion by Mrs. Peterson. Following a few good old Icelandic songs in which the group joined, a delicious lunch was served by the hostess assisted by Mrs. Mildred Jackson, Mrs. Malla Jeruski, Mrs. Helga Stephanson and Mrs. Freda Gislason.

The monthly draw donated by Mrs. Hornford was won by Mrs. J. G. Gislason.

1958

A page from the minute book of the Icelandic Ladies Aid, originally established in 1918 in Elfros, 1958. Saskatchewan Archives Board, Elfros Icelandic Ladies Aid Records, R-483.

even be bound together in that way (minute books, financial ledgers, or correspondence on a particular subject).

Numeric: Filing records by number might be suitable for certain kinds of financial records, but it can be cumbersome if applied to certain other materials, such as correspondence files. One still needs an alphabetical index of correspondents or subjects in order to use the numeric filing system.

Geographic: This arrangement is suitable for records that are regional in scope or perhaps reflect wide international concerns; in many instances, the geographic classification is but a variation of an alphabetical arrangement.

Subject: A subject arrangment of records within particular categories can be very useful, especially for correspondence files. While many organizations generate "general correspondence" files covering many activities and interests of the body, there are also files created that deal with specific topics, containing correspondence, programmes, memos, or various enclosures. In many instances, these might be maintained as the "subject files" of the body:

X. Subject Files.
  1. Annual Brief, 1979-1981.
  2. Annual Conference, 1965-1980.
  3. Certification, 1962-1965.
  4. History Book, 1966.
  5. Multilingual Project, 1980.
  6. Questionnaire, 1968-1970.

Arrangement by Medium: Certain types of records might be arranged according to the form in which they are found — photographs, tape recordings, films, or architectural plans — because of the different preservation needs of various kinds of informational media. A media arrangement is allowable provided that one documents the relationship among records which have been separated to accommodate this arrangement, so that no information is lost and the relationship between the different pieces of information is retained. For example, one should acknowledge that a photograph was originally enclosed with a letter by putting a note to this effect in the file containing the letter and describing the new location of the photograph, thus retaining the relationship intellectually.

An example of media categories used is:

VI. Newsclippings
VII. Photographs
VIII. Publications
IX. Sound Recordings

Implementing the System

Here I would like to concentrate on the physical care, movement, and storage of archival materials, rather than on the storage and care of the active records of the organization. The latter is a broad topic which might be better covered through other means: I would refer those interested to some of the sources listed for detailed information on file maintenance procedures, filing equipment, and the movement of records.

When archival materials have been located and collected, and an arrangement of them has been carefully planned and listed, the next step is the physical movement of documents. While it is not possible in the scope of this workshop to list everything one ought to do, I will mention some key points. Documents that are crumpled or excessively folded should be flattened gently or unfolded; rusted pins, rubber bands, paper clips, and brads should be removed and discarded; the documents should be placed in file folders, suitably labelled, and moved to storage boxes. Archival supplies used will be determined largely by the organization's needs and financial situation; if possible, avoid "penny wise, dollar foolish" decisions. There are acid-free storage boxes in different sizes recommended for archival records, acid-free envelopes for negatives and chemically-stable, transparent sleeves for photographs. Similarly, shelving units, filing cabinets, or a fire-proof storage cabinet should be purchased with long-term needs in mind. As mentioned earlier, a number of kinds of archival supplies, including acid-free storage boxes, file folders, photograph envelopes, and map folders can be purchased from the Saskatchewan Archives at cost price plus shipping charges.

If archival materials should include additional records such as manuscripts, photographs, or correspondence relating to the organization but not belonging to it, it is good policy to maintain a "gifts list," containing the donor's name, date of receipt, description of materials, their inclusive dates, extent, and the relationship of the donor to the organization; a correspondence file with copies of letters acknowledging receipt of the materials should also be kept. Should any materials be deemed confidential, and access to them be restricted for any purpose, it is recommended that a formal decision to restrict certain records be made and officially documented. Any files to which access is restricted should be so labelled.

It is not possible to outline all of the guidelines to follow in the physical handling of materials. It is important to avoid soiling, staining, or harming them in any way. Some good rules are: no eating, drinking, or smoking when handling documents; not using hand lotions prior to the work; wearing clean cotton gloves when handling photographs, negative microfilm, or audio tapes; avoiding the use of contact or rubber cement, glues, or scotch tape on records; and not storing archival materials on the floor where they might be susceptible to flooding or other hazards. Records should also not be unduly exposed to light. The organization's photographer might note that black-and-white photographs are known to have a longer lightlife than coloured prints or transparencies.

Archival records should be stored in an environment with stable room temperature and humidity within the 45-50 percent range. The physical condition of the materials should be checked regularly.

Records described earlier as vital to the functioning of the organization should be placed in a safe, fireproof storage area. A list of them should be maintained and if they are removed from certain files, notation of this should be placed in those files. Some organizations might choose to photocopy the materials and simply keep the copies in a safe environment.

Keeping the System Working

Once the system is in place, it is important to ensure that it continues to work. The classification system for active records and finding aids for archival materials should be prepared and made available to those working with the records. As the archivist or archives committee now has intimate knowledge of the organization's past and of how the materials were created, a brief history of the organization and a description of the various records acquired might be written for future benefit.

To facilitate the system, individuals within the organization should be encouraged to release records for filing or integration with other archival materials. Those working with current records should be encouraged to follow the classifications established. If a records committee has been appointed, it should continue to provide clear direction to those working with the records regarding the transfer, maintenance, and preservation of various types of records, prepared as lists or "records schedules." If archival materials are removed for any reason from their place of storage, a "charge-out" system should be developed, listing the date, names of borrower and issuer, the title of the records, and include a follow-up system to document the return of the material.

Summary

There is no doubt that developing an information system for the records and archival materials of an organization involves considerable time, effort, and some expense. The benefits of the system, however, are immediate as well as long-term.

A summary of my key points might be useful:

1. Establish an official policy to cover the records of the organization: official decisions regarding the scope, storage, and management of the materials involved and the necessary staff.
2. Develop a system based on the principles of records and archives management that meets your organization's needs.
3. Be sure that your information system takes into account all types of records created or acquired.
4. Be sure the system continues to be used and is working.
5. If you have questions or problems concerning the care and preservation of your records or archives, the staff of the Saskatchewan Archives Board is available to provide assistance. The Archives has been active in preserving the archives of groups and organizations since its formation. Depositing your organization's archival materials with the Archives may be investigated as a means of preserving its historically valuable materials.

Notes

1. Saskatchewan Archives Board, *First Report of the Saskatchewan Archives, 1945-1946* (Regina: Bureau of Publications, 1946).
2. Records management is defined as "... the application of systematic and scientific control to the recorded information that is required in the operation of an organization's business. Such control is exercised over the creation, distribution, utilization, retention, storage, retrieval, protection, preservation and final disposition of all types of records within an organization." Wilmer O. Maedke, Mary F. Robek, and Gerald F. Brown, *Information and Records Management* (Encino, California: Glencoe Publishing Company, 1981), 5.
3. Some of the sources recommended, being ones to which I have referred in the preparation of this paper are: William Benedon, *Records Management* (Los Angeles: California State University, 1969); Kenneth W. Duckett, *Modern Manuscripts* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1975); Maedke, op. cit.; T. R. Schellenberg, *The Management of Archives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); and John S. Stallard and George R. Terry, *Office Systems Management* (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, 1984).
4. Schellenberg defines *provenance* as "... the principle ... that records should be arranged according to their origins in an organic body or an organic activity..." Schellenberg, op. cit., 41-42.
5. Carman V. Carroll, "Principles of Archival Arrangement." Unpublished paper in Canadian Historical Association, Archives Section, "Papers Prepared for the 1974 Archives Course," Public Archives of Canada, No. 41, 1974, 1-11.

Conducting Multicultural Family History Research

D'Arcy Hande

The steps taken to trace one's ancestry remain basically the same, regardless of the national or ethnic origin of the researcher and his forebears. However, it is important to be familiar with the methods of genealogical research and the sources of information before embarking on a family history project. Many general reference books are now available from libraries and bookstores. For the researcher in Saskatchewan I would like to recommend two of these, *The Canadian Genealogical Handbook*[1] and *Exploring Family History in Saskatchewan*.[2] As family historians begin research in other provinces and countries, they should consult reference books on genealogical research there.

Assistance on research methods can also be obtained from organizations like the Saskatchewan Genealogical Society. The SGS has branches in most larger centres in the province, publishes a quarterly *Bulletin*, maintains a library, and sponsors an annual seminar. At least one ethnic organization in the province has a strong historical-genealogical thrust, the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, Regina Chapter. The Chapter is developing a reference library relating to research on Germans in Russia, Poland, and the eastern provinces of the former Austrian Empire.

No genealogist can afford to ignore the wealth of resources of the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The Genealogical Society, based in Salt Lake City, has copied on microfilm genealogical records from around the world, and researchers can borrow this microfilm at the Society's branch libraries, one of which is located at 1429 Tenth Street East, Saskatoon.

Before approaching official repositories for help, the family historian should gather as much information as possible from family sources. Most people have gathered over the years certificates, newspaper clippings, albums, letters, diaries, or other documents that can provide valuable insights into the family's history. Older relatives may also remember many important events and might be able to relate interesting family stories. A tape recorder is a useful tool in this kind of research.

There are many sources of genealogical information available within Saskatchewan. These include records of births, marriages, and deaths in the Vital Statistics Division, Department of Health. The first step in obtaining information is to contact the Division for an application form which lists all information required before a search can be made, and states the cost of the search. For reasons of confidentiality, access to these records is limited. However, genealogists usually have no problem obtaining certificates of vital events for members of their immediate family. Because of the high cost of the certificates, it might be worthwhile to check out other sources of information instead, if that is possible.

Church records are usually the best alternative to vital statistics records. Parish registers normally include entries of baptisms, marriages, and burials. There are some drawbacks, though: church records may not be as comprehensive as vital statistics registrations, and very often locating church registers can pose problems. If the local congregation does not have its early records, they might be found in the archives at its denominational headquarters.

Court records for the various judicial centres can be useful for family history. Wills and other records relating to the administration of estates in Surrogate Court records are perhaps the most valuable for the genealogist. Copies of all probated wills are also filed with the Surrogate Registrar at the Regina Court House.

Land records are another important source. They can be found in Land Titles and local government offices. The original homestead records in the Saskatoon office of the Saskatchewan Archives Board are a key series of land records.

Cemetery records are also very helpful. Besides the actual headstone inscriptions, further details may be available at the office of the church or the municipality administering the cemetery. Sometimes funeral homes will provide information on burials they have conducted.

Libraries, museums, educational institutions, and cultural organizations should be contacted regarding printed and manuscript materials that may be available for family research. A family history in the local library, an accession record for an artifact in the museum, the register for a rural school, the membership roll of an ethnic society all might very well contain vital information on a family member.

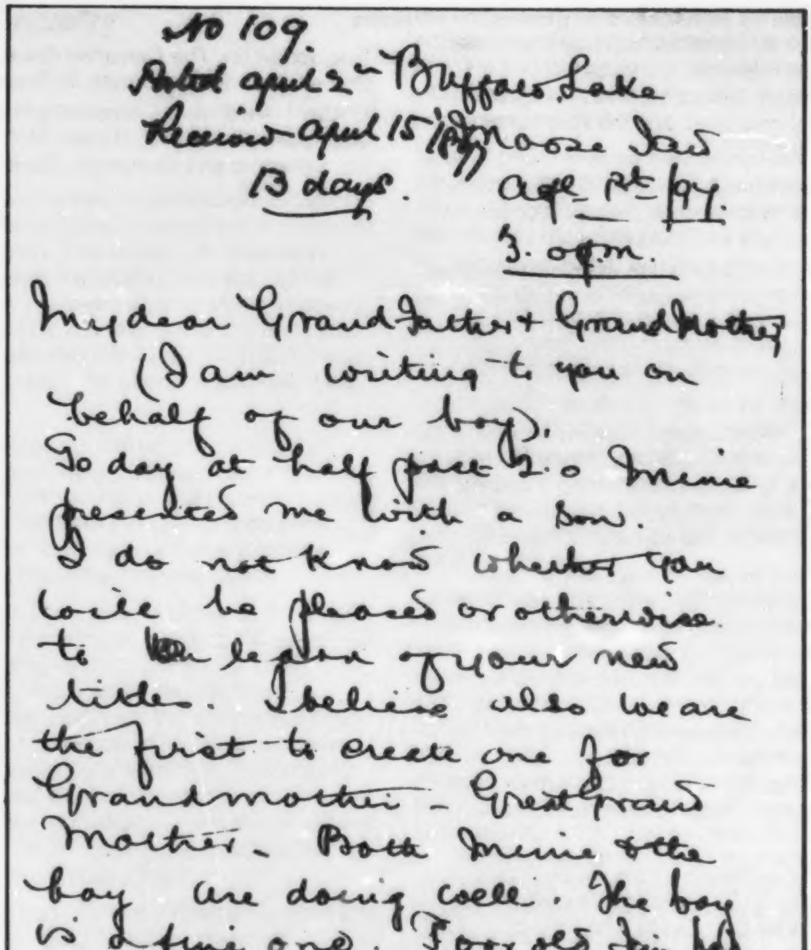
Libraries can also provide a valuable service by bringing in printed materials and microfilm from other libraries across North America on interlibrary loan. For instance, passenger lists and census records currently available for public research purposes in the Public Archives of Canada have been copied on microfilm and are available through interlibrary loan.

The offices of the Saskatchewan Archives Board in Regina and Saskatoon are probably the single most fruitful source of information in the province for the family historian. As well as the homestead records, the Archives has records of congregations in the Saskatchewan Conference of the United Church of Canada, the Anglican Dioceses of Qu'Appelle and Saskatoon, and the Presbyterian Synod of Saskatchewan. Access to these church records is restricted and applications for information must be submitted to the respective Conference or Synod office.

The Saskatchewan Archives Board also has court records (except for the Surrogate Courts) prior to 1931, many local and family histories, newspapers, directories, maps, private papers, government records, photographs, and sound recordings relating to the history of the province. Many of these sources are valuable from the genealogical viewpoint.

A major hurdle for family historians wanting to trace their roots outside of Canada is pinpointing the village or parish of origin in the homeland. If this information cannot be obtained from family sources, trying to find it in official sources can pose a major challenge. The researcher should first of all question older family members and check for clues in letters, old address books, the family Bible, certificates, newspaper clippings, and other documents in the homes of relatives. If these do not yield the answer, they must turn to official records like vital statistics registrations, church registers, passenger lists, or homestead files for some indication of the birthplace or place of origin of ancestors. Other sources such as newspapers, local and family histories, and other archival documents could be helpful.

When researchers undertake genealogical research in other countries, or even in different provinces or states within the



No 109.
Posted April 2nd Buffalo Lake
Received April 15 1897 Moose Jaw
13 days.

Apl 1st/97.
3. o p.m.

My dear Grand Father + Grand Mother
(I am writing to you on behalf of our boy).
To day at half past 2.0 Minnie presented me with a Son.
I do not know whether you will be pleased or otherwise to [illegible] learn of your new titles. I believe also we are the first to create one for Grandmother – Great Grand Mother. Both Minnie & the boy are doing well. The boy is a fine one. Poor old Min had a pretty hard time.
The Union Jack is floating up above, so the youngster was born under the right flag.
I shall give this to the doctor to post as I thought you would like to know.

So good bye for the present; from your loving Son Geordie.

A letter from George Tuxford, Buffalo Lake near Moose Jaw, to his parents in Wales, announcing the birth of his first child, 1897. Saskatchewan Archives Board, George Tuxford Papers, R-418, Letter No. 109, 1897.

same country, they may encounter significant divergencies in methodologies and sources. It is, therefore, important to stress the need for study in available reference books before embarking on a research project. Nevertheless, some types of records are common to many countries, and the researcher should focus on them in particular.

Standard record types created by various levels of government include vital statistics, census, land records, military records, and court records such as probate and naturalization documents. All of these can provide essential details on family history. Until comparatively recent times, in many European countries, registration of vital events was the responsibility of the national church, and those records have often been deposited in public archives or records offices for consultation by researchers.

Other archives and libraries in the country of ancestral origin may also have useful printed and manuscript sources. Maps showing details for the places where ancestors lived may help to solve many puzzles in the family history. Such maps can often be obtained from government and commercial offices.

Although it is always preferable to visit archives and libraries personally to do research, sometimes this is not possible. The expense of travelling might be prohibitive; or perhaps official restrictions on travel (such as in several eastern European countries) make personal visits difficult. It then becomes even more necessary to study reference books on research in the country of one's ethnic origin before making requests for assistance. It is imperative that the researcher know what genealogical sources are available and where they are located. Formulating concise inquiries will make favourable responses much more likely.

I have already mentioned the availability of microfilm copies of genealogical records through the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The thrill of seeing on microfilm the original entry in a Polish parish register of a grandfather's baptism or the enumeration of another grandfather's family in the Norwegian census cannot be adequately described. It far surpasses receiving a typewritten extract of the same information from an archives overseas.

When additional assistance is required because of unfamiliarity with the language or records in another country, the local genealogical society can often help to put the researcher in touch with someone with expertise in this area. It should also be noted that several societies with ethnocultural ties are willing to assist genealogical researchers. The American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, the Norwegian-American Historical Association, and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies are just a few.

Exploring family history is an exciting and fulfilling pastime. Study, patience, and perseverance can make the pursuit of one's roots even more satisfying and rewarding.

Notes

1. Eric Jonasson, *The Canadian Genealogical Handbook*, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Wheatfield Press, 1978).
2. D'Arcy Hande, comp., *Exploring Family History in Saskatchewan*, Saskatchewan Archives Reference Series no. 3 (Regina and Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1983).

Studying German Ancestry

Elaine and Kenneth Engel

Genealogy and how to conduct genealogical research is one of our favourite topics. It is our pleasure to have an opportunity to speak about it.

My husband and I have been involved in genealogical research for almost ten years. It all started when I attempted to complete our older daughter's baby book. The section on "ancestors" remained entirely blank. I asked my mother and she did not have much to add. I asked my grandmother — the only one I have left — and she helped a bit. It finally got to the point that she would say, "Ach Kind, lass dies alte Stoff," ("Oh child, leave that old stuff") — little did I know how often I would hear that phrase in the future!

My grandmother did give me one puzzle which took me six years to solve. She told me that my grandfather had a brother who had possibly come to North America, but no one was sure because no one had ever heard from him. My grandmother finally gave me four photographs — one of this mysterious brother — and said that she could not help me further.

In the next six years, we tried everything possible to trace my great-uncle or members of his family. In the process, we joined two genealogical organizations, wrote hundreds of letters, followed every possible lead, and literally ate, slept, and breathed family history. We learned a lot. We discovered three other gentlemen who had the same name as my great-uncle, had come to North America about the right time, had lived in the same village in Russia, and were of German origin. I received photographs of these individuals — and these showed me that none was my great-uncle. Their facial features did not resemble those of the man in my photograph.

By this time it was 1981. We had planned a holiday to Germany to visit relatives, but primarily, to do research. We were fortunate enough to attend a conference on Germans from Russia (Landsmannschaft der Deutsche aus Russland) in Wiesbaden, West Germany which had over nine thousand participants. It was fantastic — a researcher's paradise! Here were people who had lived in the time of my grandfather and even my great-grandfather. We met a lady there, who after I had explained for whom I was looking said, "Leave me your address; if I find something, I shall write you." Well, I left our address with about fifty such people, never really expecting to hear from any of them. Three months after we got home from Germany, I received a letter from her. This lady had written to her uncle in Alma-Ata in Siberia and his next-door neighbour turned out to be my second cousin! I discovered later that this lady had already been quite certain of this relationship when we had met in Wiesbaden, but she had wanted to make sure of the connection before saying anything.

The lady in Germany sent me my second cousin's address and assured us that my cousin was waiting for a letter. As we had not heard from that branch of the family for fifty-two years, a letter was long overdue. The last time we had heard of this particular cousin was when she was four years old. Her father, another great-uncle, had sent my grandfather a letter with her photograph. I wrote to her and an answer to my letter came two days after Christmas. In that letter she enclosed a photograph of herself and her family, and she told me that two of my great-uncles lived six hundred miles north in Pavloda, Siberia.

One of them was the man I had been looking for over the past six years; he had never left Russia. I never did, however, have the opportunity to write to him, for before I received his address, he died. He did know, however, that I was looking for him. He told his brother how pleased he was that the brother who had gone to North America was not really lost, but just did not write very often.

Most of your research may not be this dramatic, or it may be more dramatic. When doing genealogical research, if often takes a long time and much searching to achieve results, but the rewards are often great.

There are four main points which you must keep in mind when doing family history research. The first is to identify that which is unique to the person or persons — name, occupation, and personal features. Secondly, it is important to discover where and when your ancestors were born and raised; much of the information is available only in the places of origin and the dates will help you to focus your search. Thirdly, it is useful for you to know the religious affiliation of the individual and family; churches are often the key places for baptism, marriage, and burial records. Fourthly, it is essential to record history as it was, never changing it to suit yourself or an image which you have made up.

Each country has different institutions and organizations which might be consulted for family history research. If your research takes you to Germany, and you have all of the background information you need, you can contact the Civil Registration Offices. Many people have said to us that most of the records in Germany were destroyed in one war or another. We have not found this to be true. During the war years, many of the records were taken out of the cities into the countryside, and these have now been placed into restored archives — national, regional, municipal, and religious. A familiarity with the history of Germany will assist you in your search; you must not forget that Germany was only established in 1870, and that there were at various times differing numbers of independent principalities in this area — over three hundred. The political history of a nation certainly affects what records are available and where they are to be found. Often older maps and atlases will help to locate place-names no longer used.

Those doing research in Germany will also find the microfilm holdings of the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints very useful. Much genealogical information from the larger archives in Germany has been microfilmed and is available through the Society's branch libraries, located in Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, and Regina. Also in Saskatchewan, the Regina Chapter of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia has a larger and ever-growing collection of publications relating to such research and has among its members many knowledgeable and experienced researchers. Finally, we recommend that anyone doing research in Germany should consult the *Address Book for German Genealogy*.[1]

I leave you with this thought — do not wait to find out about your ancestors until you are older. If you do, who will there be to help you? The value of genealogical research, difficult as it may appear, extends far beyond learning about the past. Through family history research we learn much about our heritage and the factors which affected the lives of our ancestors and ourselves. I feel that such research — knowing where we come from — is vital in also determining where we are going.

Notes

1. Ernest Thode, *Address Book for German Genealogy* (Marietta, Ohio: Heritage House, 1979).

Writing Ethnic Local History

Gerald Friesen

The purpose of this workshop is to address the relationship between ethnic and local history. In order to investigate some of the approaches to these two quite different historical themes, I have organized my comments under five general headings: choosing a unit of study, choosing an audience and a format of presentation, choosing a research strategy, potential themes for historical writing, and some observations on the task of writing. Each of these questions is closely associated with the others but this structure will permit us to cover some of the most important problems confronting local historical groups.

As a group of committed heritage activists, you understand the importance of historical awareness in a community. You have been told by several speakers at this Conference that history is to society what memory is to an individual. You already appreciate that knowledge of the past broadens our awareness of our fellow citizens, helps us to appreciate the range of experience represented in our community, and instructs us about the forces that shape our lives. Our reasons for encouraging further heritage work are strong.

The subject of this workshop — local ethnic history — is testimony to the new currents in history as a scholarly discipline. We are today considering the subject that scholars call "social history," an approach which differs from the more traditional political and economic inquiry because it is concerned especially with the lives of "ordinary" people and with all the forces that shaped the society in which they lived. But the two terms of our special topics in social history, "ethnic" and "local," do not fit easily together. Ethnic history is usually confined to the study of a particular group. As a unit of analysis, "ethnic" includes two basic characteristics: first, members of an ethnic group are said to have a common nation of origin, language, religion, race, or customs — characteristics that we can summarize as a common "culture" — and, second, ethnic group membership is defined by a fairly clear boundary between the "ins" and the "outs" — that is, a boundary that is recognized by outsiders and by those who belong to the group.

Local history, by contrast, defines its subject of study by geography. A town, district, rural municipality, school district, or church parish will usually be the focus of inquiry in such works on the Canadian prairies. It is evident that, starting from such origins, local and ethnic history might seem to be quite different in goal and composition. But before we accept that conclusion, let us consider some additional issues.

Choosing a Unit of Study

Time, place, and theme are organizing and defining elements in historical works. In Saskatchewan, I suspect that lay (as opposed to professional) ethnic historians would be most comfortable with units of study based upon smaller districts ("The Doukhobors of Blaine Lake," for example) rather than province-wide topics ("The Ukrainians of Saskatchewan"). I suspect, too, that they would find it easier to mobilize community support, whether financial, administrative, or scholarly, for such a locally-based work. And, as a general rule, shorter rather than longer periods would be more manageable for them.

Choosing an Audience and a Format

Why do we undertake our obligations as community heritage activists? Usually we are motivated by our concern that historical information not be "lost," or our desire to educate our children. Too often, we assume that the only appropriate vehicle for our work is "the book." I do not think this is the only alternative. Indeed, if we accept that one of our goals is *preservation* of the local historical record, then we might be better advised to work in conjunction with the provincial archives to collect more local historical materials, preserve them, and set up local archives in museums, libraries, or schools. If we accept that another goal is education, then a number of vehicles may be appropriate, including newspaper articles, booklets on families, clubs, businesses, and other institutions, and, finally, slide sets or video tapes for use in the schools. If our goal is further research, then we turn to the scholarly aids in our province — the provincial archives, the libraries, and the universities — and aim to produce written works in article or book form.

Choosing a Research Strategy

Much discussion at this Conference has been devoted to the possibility of a provincial series of ethnic group histories. These volumes would not be easy to write. They would require research, in most cases, in many different and distant communities and would be difficult to integrate into a single narrative. One alternative approach might be to commission collections of articles on each ethnic group but, as readers of such works will readily agree, the product is often disjointed and uneven in quality. A second alternative would be to encourage a number of local ethnic studies — restricted in area, time, and theme — and select the best for publication in book form or in *Saskatchewan History, Prairie Forum,* or *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. In any case, it is important that local historical committees choose their unit of study, audience, and format before they become deeply enmeshed in their activity. These decisions will determine their research strategy and, therefore, require a careful, realistic assessment of local resources.

Potential Themes for Historical Writing

Ethnic History: The issues to be addressed might include why the immigrants chose to leave their homeland (the "push" factors may be pivotal to their decision-making) and why they chose prairie Canada (what "pulled" them to this place). Once in this country, how did they make a living, manage the home, and maintain *their* particular set of standards for personal and family behaviour? What was the tone of relationships with other ethnic groups and especially with the so-called "charter groups," the French and British-Canadians? When did distinctive cultural traits such as language use, marriage patterns, and the like begin to suggest assimilation into the larger society?

These issues can be considered in the form of a community-wide study but also can be addressed through collections of biographies or similarly limited topics.

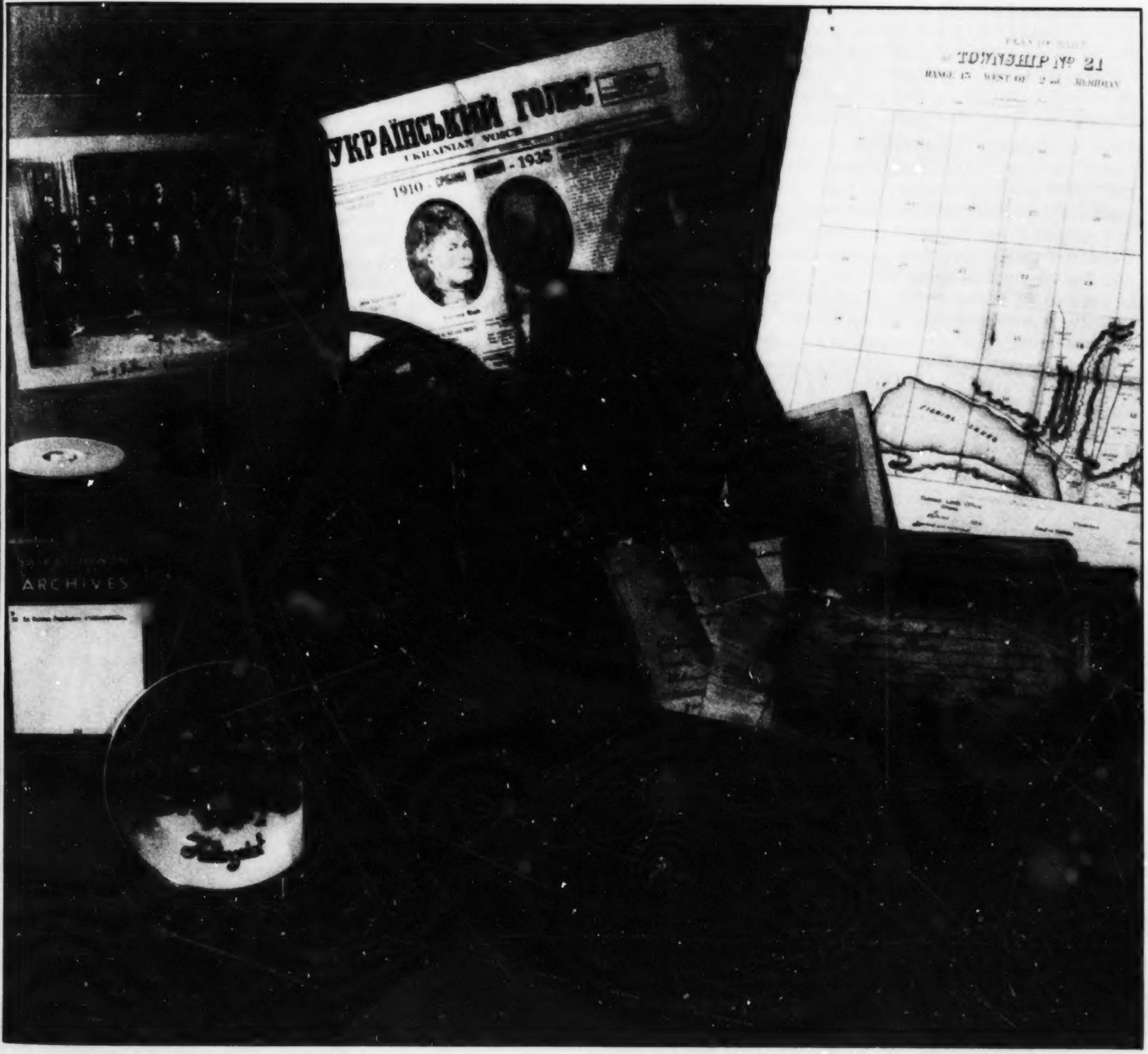
Local History: Having defined the area of study, local historical studies will normally be organized by chronology. Thus, the earliest eras in prairie local history include the eras of Native dominance in the fur trade (1600-1840), and of transition to European-Canadian institutions (1840-1900). Thereafter, a Saskatchewan local study would probably find distinctive rhythms associated with the boom (1900-1914), the First World War (1914-1918), the recession (1919-1924), the era of renewed economic growth (1924-1929), the Depression (1930-1939), the Second World War (1939-1945), the era of economic change (1945-1961), and the most recent generation (1961-1984).

I believe, however, that it is possible to combine ethnic and local themes in one's historical writing.

Communicating

Research should be conducted systematically and the results should be recorded in uniform format. There are no secrets to writing; one has to sit down regularly, without distractions, and write.

Your task is a valuable and enjoyable one. The record you create and the education you provide will be priceless. I wish you well in your heritage activities.



A selection of multicultural records held at the Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1984. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B8526.

Folklore and Multiculturalism

Michael Taft

Folklore has never been an easy discipline to define and few folklorists agree on the exact borders of their field of study. For the purposes of this workshop, the following definition will suffice: folklore is the study of the kinds of creativity which help to define specific communities, regions, and ethnic groups. This creativity may take many forms — song, tale, proverb, ritual or celebration, music, art or craft — but whatever its form, it is linked to the culture and heritage of the group wherein it is found.

Out of this "common" creativity have grown all forms of high art, as well as all forms of popular and commerical art, but what interests folklorists most is how a given group, let us say an ethnic group, uses its various expressive forms to define itself both to itself and to those outside the group. Much of what we call ethnicity are the distinct kinds of folklore which groups, ethnic and otherwise, display.

Therefore, folklore has an important part to play in the field of multiculturalism. When immigrant groups have lost their political and economic systems, their traditional occupations, their age-old social networks, and perhaps even their language and religion in the course of adapting to their new lives in Canada, they will nevertheless retain much of their folklore, and it is this folklore which will identify them as a distinct part of the mosaic. Some ethnic groups take special care to preserve and display their unique folklore; others preserve their creative traditions unconsciously or even despite their best efforts to become entirely acculturated to mainstream Canadian culture. Either way, their traditions become a part of what we call "the mainstream," for Canadian culture is a mixture of the cultures of all the people who have come here from somewhere else. The task of the folklorist is to sort out these different traditions, understand how they have changed, and how they have affected the traditions of others.

All ethnic folklore undergoes change. The minute immigrants arrive in Canada (in fact, the minute they leave their native land), their creative traditions begin to diverge from those of their friends and relatives who remain behind. In this sense, there are no Ukrainians, Germans, or Chinese in Canada; there are only "Ukrainian-Canadians," "German-Canadians," and "Chinese-Canadians," for these and all other ethnic groups can no longer claim to be "the same" as those still in the "old country." A clear indication of how Canada has "hyphenated" its settlers is that whenever Canadians visit the country of their ancestors, they come back with tales of how everything has changed over there, how everything is so different from the way they remembered it. It is not the old country that is so different — it is the perceptions, life-styles, and expectations of the hyphenated Canadians that are foreign, that are different from those who have remained in the Ukraine, Germany, or China.

Ethnic folklore is continually influenced by two forces: the force of conservatism which tries to keep a group's traditions as faithful to Old-World folklore as possible, and the force of dynamism or change which tries to adapt the old traditions to the realities of the Canadian context. All forms of ethnic folklore exhibit both conservatism and change; no form of ethnic artistry and expression is either absolutely traditional or absolutely innovative. The conservative force in folklore defines the ethnic roots and group solidarity of an ethnic enclave. For example, we know that Swedish Canadians have their roots in Sweden by their many forms of folklore which are similar to the folklore found in Sweden. By dressing in Swedish costumes, preparing Swedish foods, celebrating Swedish national holidays, retaining Swedish fiddle tunes and songs, and perhaps by preserving Swedish as a second language, this ethnic group lets everyone know that "we are a distinctive group with a distinctive heritage which we are proud of; we may be Canadians, but we are *Swedish* Canadians."

But the forces of change are continually at work on these ethnic traditions. The Swedish costumes might be made out of modern wash-and-wear material or may mix decorative motifs which originally belonged on the costumes of Swedes from very different areas of Sweden. The Swedish recipes might be modified to appeal to North American tastes. Swedish national holiday celebrations might now include the playing of "O Canada," and Swedish songs might now be accompanied by a Country and Western orchestra. The dialect of Swedish spoken might now be obsolete back in the old country. These changes, great and small, announce to all that "we may be Swedish, but we are Swedish *Canadians*."

Some forms of folklore lend themselves less to change than others; they cannot be easily adapted to the Canadian context. For example, when European settlers first came to Saskatchewan, they tried to build houses and farm buildings using the architectural designs from their Old-World country. The countryside is dotted with the remnants of these settlers' houses, now either left to deteriorate or used as storage sheds and grain bins. But one trained in folk architecture can clearly see the ethnic influence on these structures. However, when these new Canadians moved into newer houses, they abandoned much if not all of their Old-World designs. Today the modern farmhouse, sometimes built only a short distance from the original settler's cabin, betrays nothing of the ethnic roots of its owner.

Similarly, it is difficult to adapt Old-World songs to the New-World language. The poetry and imagery of songs defy translation. Thus, where the songs of Icelanders, the French, or the Vietnamese survive in Saskatchewan, they represent a conservative and, for the most part, unchanged tradition from the Old World. The same is true, for example, of fiddle tunes: many Saskatchewan fiddlers who are well-versed in North American fiddle tunes such as "Soldier's Joy" and "Maple Sugar," also have the tunes of their immigrant parents stored in their memories.

These overly conservative forms of folklore may become vestigial if no modern outlet can be found for their performance or practice. One purpose of revival groups and ethnic organizations is to retain these conservative traditions, if only in the form of museum pieces. Otherwise such folklore will die a natural death as ethnic groups acculturate more and more to mainstream Canadian culture. The process *is* a natural one, indeed a necessary one, but it does deprive us of the chance to see a part of the ethnic history of our settler-ancestors.

Other forms of folklore adapt well to the Canadian context and remain a viable part of the multicultural scene. For example, an Old-World craft such as Belgian lacemaking is flexible enough to survive the forces of change. In Belgium, the craft was a cottage industry in which different people engaged in different parts of the lacemaking process — from planning the design, to making the bare netting, to filling in that netting, to selling the final product. One Belgian-Canadian lacemaker, Mariette Buydens, has been forced by the Canadian context to learn all of these skills. Her craft is not a part of a cottage industry production line, but a hobby for long winter evenings. She has retained many of the Old-World designs for her lace, but has also used Canadian motifs in her work. As well, her pieces have lost their original Belgian functions of forming borders for clothes and curtains and protecting furniture. Rather, Mariette's pieces are works of art in themselves and hang, framed, as examples of her skill. Here we see an Old-World ethnic tradition which has been successfully adapted to the New World. The lace is, at the same time, Belgian and Canadian in terms of how it is made, its design, and its functions.

A more common adaptation of Old-World ethnic traditions concerns food. For example, many Ukrainian Canadians are familiar with the traditional Christmas feast of twelve meatless dishes. Some follow the old recipes the best they can, but others substitute new recipes, perhaps even non-Ukrainian recipes, while still adhering to the custom of twelve meatless dishes. Some might reduce the number of dishes to five or six, or even one, in order to keep the symbolism (if not the actuality) of Ukrainian Christmas alive. A Christmas feast can easily be adapted to New-World foodways without destroying the spirit of the Old-World tradition (at least in the eyes of the feasters).

Folktales are another kind of folklore which can easily be adapted and changed to fit modern Canadian situations. Unlike songs, the text of a tale can be translated. This has happened often in multicultural Canada where, for example, a grandfather will translate an old European tale into English and use it as a bedtime story for his unilingual, English-speaking grandchild. In the Old World, the story might have been told strictly for adults and may have had political and social significance now lost in the New-World telling. Yet the story remains, even if its original function has been lost. It survives because it has adapted to a new function in a new language — in this hypothetical case, as a bedtime tale. Is the folklore European or Canadian? It is obviously both.

All people have ethnic folklore, both conservative and adapted traditions, but often people are not conscious of their ethnic traditions. How often do people say that there is nothing special about the way they celebrate Christmas, the way they remember the story of *Cinderella*, or the way they bake a cake — "it is the way everyone does it." In fact, it is *not* the way everyone does it; ethnicity affects the way all folklore manifests itself. In our natural wish to conform to mainstream culture, however, we often fail to see that our everyday, even obvious and boring, traditions are unique to our specific backgrounds. Not all Christmas celebrations are the same; not all versions of *Cinderella* are exactly alike.

The Poltava Ensemble of Song, Music and Dance performing at the ***Caring For Our Past*** *Conference, 1984. Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan photograph.*

When observing ethnic folklore, it is also important to realize that we all have traditions which we have borrowed from other ethnic groups. This is a fact of life in Canada, since there is no ethnic group — not even the isolated Hutterites — which is not continually being influenced by neighbouring ethnic communities. Thus, how many non-Ukrainian Canadians have sent their children to Ukrainian dance schools? Are all Saskatchewan highland dancers of Scottish background? Are perogies found only on the dinner plates of those of Eastern European background? Are all patrons of Chinese restaurants Chinese Canadians?

The children and grandchildren of the original immigrants to this country may lack any absolute allegiance to their ethnic group. Mixed marriages between people of different ethnic backgrounds are so common as to go without comment. Yet what happens to the ethnic traditions in these "multicultural families?" What is retained from the separate ethnic groups which make up such families? What ethnic traditions have these families borrowed and adapted from outside their ancestral roots? Adaptations and compromises in the practice of ethnic folklore in the modern, multicultural Canadian family have yet to receive proper study, but can there be a more important question to those interested in the future of ethnicity in Canada?

For example, one German-Ukrainian couple I know celebrates both December 25th and January 6th as Christmas, the former with his German parents and the latter with her Ukrainian relatives. Their gift-giving practices are spread between the two dates. They have incorporated both German and Ukrainian traditions into their own personal celebrations and have made the kind of compromises which have kept both sides of the family happy. But what will their children's Christmases be like, especially when they grow up and perhaps once again marry outside of their ethnic groups? Another German-Ukrainian couple I know exhibits an even more integrated sense of compromise: their Christmas feast falls on December 25th but consists of twelve "meatless" dishes, some of which incorporate German meat recipes. The forces of conservatism and change, and the influence of outside cultures will play upon the future traditions of these people.

We should celebrate these changes in ethnic traditions, for they are a part of what it means to be a multicultural Canadian society. By all means, we must collect and preserve the unchangeable, conservative, even vestigial, traditions which we brought to this country. But we must see them for the museum or archival documents which they truly are. We must not ignore modern ethnic traditions because they have been influenced by the forces mentioned above; to do so is to misunderstand how multiculturalism works. The word "authentic" is too often used to separate conservative from dynamic folklore. What is authentic? Is a tradition which cannot change to fit the modern Canadian context more "authentic" than a tradition which has successfully adapted? I think not.

The folklore of the Old World (wherever that may be) is no more static than that of Canada. If one takes a purely historical view of authenticity, where exactly does authenticity lie? Is it in the Italian-Canadian foodways of the present era, or in the Italian foodways of modern Italy, or the foodways of nineteenth century Italy, or the eighteenth century? What is practised and performed, what is celebrated as part of a community, group, or culture is in and of itself authentic, regardless of its divergence from a recognized form or design.

Rather than searching for authenticity, let us search for the multiplicity of folklore in the Canadian context. Only in this way will we understand what the ethnic groups are trying to tell us. Folklore is a window upon the world of Canadian multiculturalism.

The Care and Preservation of Photographs

Douglas H. Bocking

A recent letter to an "Ask Your Vet" column of a Rochester, New York newspaper raised an interesting problem. A cat owner wrote to the veterinarian to ask how to deal with a problem he was having with his Siamese cat. The cat enjoyed licking the emulsion off its owner's photographs. The cat owner wanted to know why this happened and what to do about it. The veterinarian explained that the animal byproducts used in the film industry were attractive to the cat, but he felt the cat's habit was dangerous to the cat not to mention the photographs and sensibly suggested that the owner place his photographs out of reach of the cat.[1]

I cite this anecdote by way of introducing the few remarks I want to make about the care and preservation of photographs, because it illustrates the fact that everywhere (and sometimes in the most unlikely places) there are things and conditions that can lead to the damage or destruction of photographic images. The story also nicely illustrates the fact that the emulsion, which is the most critical part of the photograph where the image is captured and preserved, is the part most susceptible to damage — even hungry pussy cats will destroy it.

Family pictures are important to us because they incorporate elements of the history of our life or of the lives of those around us. Susan Sontag has noted that one of the earliest popular uses of photography was in "memorializing the achievements of individuals considered as members of families .... Through photographs each family constructs a portrait-chronicle of itself."[2] Obviously we want to preserve our precious memories and where they exist as a photograph, it is important that we do all we can to preserve these fragile records. I hope what I have to say will be of help to you in developing a strategy for preserving your family and community photographic records but I must say that I do not profess to be an expert in the complex field of photo conservation. We can only, in the time available to us today, touch on a few points and you may want to pursue the matter further in reading and in study.

On January 7, 1839 an announcement was made before the French Academy that Louis Daguerre had discovered a method by which light drew pictures — he had discovered photography. His pictures were produced on highly polished metal and while they had fine detail, they were one of a kind and could not be duplicated. Shortly after the appearance of the daguerreotype, an announcement was made in England of the discovery by John Talbot of negative-positive photography using a paper negative. In the one hundred and forty-five years since these discoveries, photography has undergone many changes and many different techniques have been developed. Each of the different methods of photography has its own special conservation problems. I will not attempt to review the various techniques but will confine my remarks to general preservation techniques applicable to many forms of photography.

It is sufficient for our purposes to remember that the basic structure of most photographic materials consists of a support upon which an emulsion layer is coated. A photograph generally consists of a chemically-fixed image on a support base. In black and white photography, the print usually has a paper base and the negative a plastic base. The emulsion is coated on the base and in both cases consists of light-sensitive silver halides suspended in a gelatin. Remember it was the gelatin that the cat liked. Colour photography incorporates dyes or in the cibachrome process, dye couplers. Factors affecting the permanence of photographs can include the following: temperature, relative humidity, light, chemical problems, and handling.

Heat and humidity, particularily in combination, tend to speed up chemical processes and together increase any chemical instability in photographs. Avoid storing photographs where there is uneven and/or excessive temperature and humidity, and especially where there is excessive humidity. While there are some variations in the recommended humidity and heat conditions under which different photographic materials should be stored, generally a temperature around twenty degrees centigrade and a relative humidity of between thirty and fifty percent are acceptable. It has been established that cold storage provides protection for photographs.

Light affects colour photographs in particular. While modern colour prints are much improved over earlier ones, experts still say the lightlife of colour photographs is not more than ten to fifteen years. On the other hand, the lightlife of properly processed black and white photographs is much longer. Some experts even say that properly processed black and white photographs will not fade from exposure to natural or artificial light alone. Ideally if you want to hang or display colour photographs — but you also want to preserve the image — you should have two prints made: one to store safely away in darkness and the other for display. Colour slides also fade through exposure to light and the amount of time they are exposed to light should be kept to a minimum, or again, a copy be used for show and the original put away. Some early colour slides have faded badly and are no longer useable.

I mentioned chemicals as a possible source of problems. Some of these problems are in the makeup of the particular photographic medium and part of the changing technology over the years has been to find a safer, more stable photographic medium. One of the more notorious mediums used — and one which was used as early as 1859 and was available up to the fifties — was a nitrate compound used as a base for films. It is highly flammable and disintegrates over time. Under the right conditions of heat and deterioration such film will combust. It was replaced beginning in 1939 by safety film which will not burn easily. If you have old negatives you might possibly have nitrate film. One way to test it is to clip a small piece off the edge and try to burn it — if it is nitrate, it will burn readily. Nitrate film should be stored in a fire-proof vault. If you have nitrate film it is best to have copy negatives made and destroy the old negatives.

Modern papers for photographs are often resin-coated. This means a coating of resin (polyethylene) has been placed on both sides of the paper base with an emulsion coating on top of it. The great advantage of this paper is that the chemicals used in processing prints do not penetrate the paper and as a result it can be quickly processed. A print can be produced in a minute using resin-coated papers, compared to about an hour for the fiber papers. Resin-coated papers require much less time for fixing and a very short washing period. Unfortunately this paper is not regarded as stable enough for long-term preservation and if you want prints to last you should ask for fiber-based papers. Cracking of the emulsion surface has occurred in resin-coated papers and in some cases the image has yellowed because of the migration of colloidal silver to the surface.

Chemical residue left over from processing — part of the problem that resin-coated papers ought to overcome — can cause problems. Archival quality processing, much talked about today really involves adequate fixing followed by extensive washing to ensure that all or as much as possible of the residual chemicals are removed from the print, so the print will be stable and not subject to deterioration by the action of residual chemicals. Unfortunately, unless you are doing your own processing, you have little control over these matters, and all you can do is to take your work to reliable labs and in particular, to those that advertise archival quality processing.

Chemical contamination may also occur from outside sources. Atmospheric pollutants from industrial wastes, particularly sulphur dioxide, may be absorbed by the paper, especially in the presence of high humidity. In the photograph the sulphur dioxide combines with oxygen and moisture to form sulphuric acid which attacks both the paper and the photographic image, resulting in discolouration, embrittlement, and eventual disintegration. High humidity may also be harmful — leading to the formation of fungus and molds that attack the photographic emulsion.

Cats, we have noted, may be attracted by the gelatin in the emulsion of photographs. The gelatin may also serve as a nutrient for fungi particularly under conditions of high humidity. In colour prints fungi may affect the dyes, while in black and white photographs, it may dissolve or distort the image. Photographs may also be appealing to a number of insects such as cockroaches, silverfish, and termites that can cause irreparable damage to photographs. Obviously, photographs must be protected from these hazards by being kept under safe storage conditions.

Photographs may also be harmed by contact with materials that can cause deterioration. Acidity plays a major role in the preservation of paper. Unfortunately, many papers used for envelopes or for mounting photographs are unsuitable because the papers have a high acidity. They contain lignins which generate destructive chemical action that damages the image on the photograph or negative. Plastic envelopes used for enclosures may have harmful coatings. In addition, fumes emitted from many substances including building materials, paints, plywoods, adhesives, resinous woods, cardboard, cleaners, solvents, and other similar materials may be harmful to photographs. Photographs can also be scratched and torn and damaged by dirt and grit.

In short, photographs are physically fragile and can be damaged by a number of elements in our environment and, of course, by handling. But photographs are meant to be viewed and while their preservation might be ensured by filing them away in a dark place under optimum environmental and storage conditions, they would not be of much use to us. The sensible response is to be aware of the hazards and to take what sensible measures within reason we can to ensure that our precious photographs are preserved for as long as possible.

What should we do? What follows are a number of suggestions that have been garnered from a number of sources on the handling and care of photographs:

1. In handling photographs do not touch the emulsion side of any print or negative. Human oil and perspiration are acidic and careless handling can cause permanent damage. If you handle photographs, handle them by the edges only or use cotton gloves.

2. Try to store your photographs in an area where the temperature and relative humidity are at acceptable levels — preferably 20ºC and 30-50 percent relative humidities.

3. Protect your photographs as much as possible from atmospheric pollutants.

4. Do not make pen marks of any kind on the face or back of any photo. If you must mark it, do so only with a soft pencil lightly on the back of the photograph.

5. Do not use paper clips, glue, or adhesive tapes on photographs. Do not use pressure sensitive tape on any photographs or negatives.

6. Do not place newspaper clippings and photographs together in the same file. The paper used in newspapers is highly acidic.

7. Do not use rubber bands around groups of prints.

8. For negatives use only envelopes made of acid-free paper or approved polyethylene. The envelopes should have free-side seams to ensure that none of the adhesive used in making the envelop will touch the emulsion. Insert the negative with the dull or emulsion side away from the seam side of the envelope.

9. Storage furniture for prints and negatives should preferably be enamelled steel cabinets and drawers, instead of wooden drawers or boxes made of ordinary cardboard.

10. The storage area should be free of materials that give off harmful fumes.

11. A photograph collection should be protected from harmful gases and dust.

12. There are a number of things to keep in mind when mounting photographs:
    a. Use acid-free adhesives.
    b. The mounting process should be reversible.
    c. Mount along one edge only.
    d. The mount should be such that the print never comes directly in touch with the glass.
    e. Use acid-free mounting boards.
    f. Avoid wooden frames because wood emits vapours that can damage prints.
    g. Most commercial albums for photographs are regarded as unsafe.

13. Purchase only photo supplies that are stable for films, prints, and slides.

Notes

1. *Photographic Conservation*, Publication of the Technical and Education Center of the Graphic Arts, Vol. 6, no. 2 (New York: Rochester Institute of Technology, 1984), 2.
2. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), 8.

Gathering, Preserving, and Using Historical Doukhobor Photographs

Koozma J. Tarasoff

Long before I learned to read and write, I remember the joy I received in looking at pictures in books. For example, I recall the time I discovered the human body in a home medical book — which showed pictures of how a baby was born. That was fascinating! In other books I learned about birds such as hummingbirds, and animals such as the big black bear. The bear I had already heard of from my mother who showed me colourful drawings in a Russian-language reader. It seemed at the time that the Russian bear was something of a folk hero, and being of Russian-Canadian ancestry myself, I was intrigued by this animal, although I had never actually seen one.

At home on the farm, my parents had a number of family photographs around the house. Some of these showed mother dressed up in the funny-looking clothes of the 1920s; later I learned that funniness and peculiarity are relative. What is accepted today as normal may be interpreted tomorrow as "funny."

During the summers of the 1930s, I remember when my brother and I went by car with Mom and Dad to Banff, Alberta as well as Radium Hot Springs to enjoy the warm waters, the fresh air, and the breath-taking scenery. Usually we continued farther west along what in today's standards would be primitive narrow roads to the interior of British Columbia where many of our relatives and friends lived. These were the British Columbia Doukhobors. They looked similar to the Saskatchewan Doukhobors, but it was only later that I was to learn some of the differences.

Dad brought with him a reliable Eastman Kodak folding camera and frequently recorded on film the beautiful scenery, the bears, our family, and our relatives. These photographs remained as treasured collections in our household, and I later added them to my own collection.

On the farm in Saskatchewan there were other images that interested me, but they were before my time. These were of my grandfather, father, and uncle farming together first with oxen, and then with machinery, or driving a Model-T Ford. Thanks to Dad and his camera, he was able to visually share with me and my brother a page of history from the earlier pioneering period of the Doukhobors.

Among the collection, too, were photographs that the family had purchased, showing formal studio portraits of stern characters, people of the soil. Also there were professional photographs of Peter V. Verigin, one of the leaders who had been killed in a train explosion in 1924. Back in my early youth, as I looked through these photo collections, I began to get a sense of history about my home, my community, and Western Canada, as well as my own Russian-Doukhobor background.

Later, in the 1940s, our family moved to Saskatoon where I completed my elementary school, took my high school, and then went on to university. During one Christmas holiday weekend, I went to Canora to attend a Convention of the Union of Doukhobors of Canada. While there, a friend of mine and myself (both first-year university students) were appointed co-editors of the first English-language Doukhobor publication in Canada. This became *The Inquirer*, a monthly publication which lasted from January 1954 to September 1958. At that moment, my interest in my own background soared. I became immersed in local, national, and international concerns about cultural survival, language retention, the questions of peace and war, and living the good life. By this time I had my own camera and began to take my own photographs of important events that unfolded before me. After graduating in anthropology from the University of British Columbia, I began using my camera in my fieldwork. In time, I published one book on the Doukhobors in 1969, another one in 1977, and the third one in 1982.

What prompted me to collect rare historical photographs of the Doukhobors for myself and for the archives, and how I went about doing this is the story that I wish to share with you now.

What motivated me to collect historic Doukhobor photographs? I was lucky. Encouragement came from several sources. My own family, grandparents, and elders in the Doukhobor community had something interesting to say, and often had family photograph collections that they proudly showed to me. Events like the Saskatchewan Fiftieth Jubilee, 1955, provided another opportunity for me to learn about my own background. The Provincial Archivist in Saskatoon gave me several interview forms which I proceeded to fill out for my grandfather and several other elders that whetted my appetite.

As already mentioned, my attendance at a Doukhobor convention in 1953, and my subsequent appointment as editor of a monthly publication, was an important stimulus to pursue research on the Doukhobors including the collection of rare photographs. In the late 1950s, I went to British Columbia to do a short booklet on the Doukhobors, but instead of a short booklet, my research extended to several years and over one thousand pages of an initial manuscript on the Doukhobor movement.

In 1963 when I graduated from UBC, I began work among the Indian and non-Indian peoples in the Broadview area of Saskatchewan with a keen sense of history. As I did my fieldwork and my interviews, my camera was my constant companion. So much so that I became known as "The Camera Man." By then I was hooked as a photo collector. But the main motivation for the Doukhobor collection came from another source — the Archives of British Columbia.

A friend of mine, Abraham Arnold (who was then the editor of the *Jewish Western Bulletin* in Vancouver), invited me one day in 1958 to come with him to Victoria and meet the Provincial Archivist. I did. And that became an important turning point in my life. The Archivist, Willard E. Ireland, warmly welcomed me, showed me his collection on the Doukhobors including some photographs, and then made a proposal to me that I could not refuse.

It was this: he proposed that I collect old Doukhobor photographs, annotate them, and send these to the Archives for copying; in their turn, the Archives would return the originals together with two copies, one of which I was to keep for my personal files, the other (along with the original), I was to return to the lender. The collection at the Archives would become part of the public domain. The barter system looked good and I immediately took up the offer.

My collection has since grown to 1,209 rare photographs, with 470 pages of annotations, and the arrangement continues. This is undoubtedly the most representative collection of rare Doukhobor photographs on the continent.

The barter arrangement was simple. The Doukhobors as a whole would have their photographs preserved for posterity. As collector/researcher, I would acquire a rich personal collection. As a provincial archival agency, the Public Archives would gain by engaging the services (on an informal basis) of a serious ethnocultural collector to collect rare photographs, identify them, and forward these to the archives for storage and easy access to the public for the modest cost of reproduction. The result was that everyone won: the ethnocultural group, the collector, the archives, and the public.

The other part of the cooperative arrangement was with my own people. Here is how it worked: you take a schoolroom or a hall, add to it some oldtimers, a collection of old photographs, a screen, and an opaque projector; together with a touch of curiosity, you have the ingredients for an effective learning experience. When I sat in the Russian Hall in Kamsack, Saskatchewan and showed my initial rare photo collection on the screen, the oldtimers sat around keenly watching what for them was the best show in town.

"That's my father," one voice sounded out. "The one on the right is my grandfather," came forth another. A third added, "I remember that day. The Doukhobors came from all over Canada to a convention at Devil's Lake at the time of our annual Peter's Day. You know, there was a lady that stripped that day." And so the conversation went.

I recorded their comments on four-by-six-inch cards which were numbered to match the photographs. Most of the information I received proved to be accurate, but some of it was not. Anecdotes were popular, often providing an air of entertainment for the audience. When the meeting was over, often I gathered enough information to accurately date the photographic image, the occasion, and the place. Occasionally the name of the photographer might be identified. Always I learned more and more about my people and my own identity.

I arranged more meetings in other Doukhobor communities and received more information which I added to my record cards. By this time I would have additional photographs to show to the audience, because each meeting produced more contacts and more photographs.

The gatherings, I found, were enjoyable learning events for me as well as for the oldtimers themselves. Some young people came out as well, in some cases probably curious as to what this young researcher (me) was doing talking to their parents and grandparents. They liked the photo discussion session as well, and I am sure they learned something about themselves.

When I felt that I had enough accurate information on a set of photographs, I wrote up my annotations (numbered consecutively) and sent these by registered mail along with the photographs to the British Columbia Archives for copying according to our original friendly agreement. In this way, my collection grew, as did the one in Victoria where the British Columbia Archives is located.

When interviewing oldtimers and borrowing rare photographs from them, I found that a professional attitude to the assignment was the most useful. Use of the Russian language was a good way to establish rapport, as was the fact that I , as a young Doukhobor, was interested in my background and was looking for accurate information about the group. I levelled with my informants that this was a cooperative venture with the Provincial Archives and that this was an opportunity to educate the wider public and dispel once and for all the misconceptions that the media had produced over the years. They understood that and were eager to assist in the project. I was talking at their level, which is an essential ingredient for gaining rapport.

Eye-to-eye contact, I have found, is useful, too, for it confirms that you are seriously interested in your task. A smile, of course, is always appreciated, as well as a good sense of humour. Above all, listen carefully to what is said and record it accurately on a card or note pad; or, if you wish, as I have done on many occasions, record it on tape. For your photograph collections in the field, take along several envelopes, on which you should write the name, address, and phone number of the donor, the number of prints attached, and the date of the transaction.

Lastly, purchase a camera (a standard 35 mm single lens reflex is a good choice) and learn to use it well. Take it along with you on your field trips; become a creator as well as a collector of rare images. Take photographs of your informants and send copies to them, with thanks. They will appreciate your professional manner, and may pass the good word on to others about you and your project.

Once the collection begins to grow, and you have accumulated a number of consecutive pages of annotations, and your photographs are stored in a safe, dry place (I place mine in the basement on a shelf as well as under my box bed), it is useful to prepare a "Preface" for the Archives.

In my current 470-page annotated collection, I prepared prefaces on several dates: February 1960, May 1963, September 1975, October 1978, and January 1979. All remain as an integral part of the collection, with a copy being sent to the Archives along with notes to several other archives on the state of the collection. The prefaces provide a context to the collection as well as a user's guide concerning the development of the annotation, how it might be best used, and the contents of the collection.

My first preface was a general one, an overview of the project. The second one gave a progress report concerning how the CBC used it in its productions. Also this preface introduced a major collection on a zealot trek to the West Coast, recorded on film by one of the participant/organizers. The third one announced the receipt of a Quaker collection of superb photographs taken at the turn of the century. The fourth preface dealt with the use of the photos in a feature-length, documentary film: "In Search of Utopia — The Doukhobors" (by Larry A. Ewashen, Ray Gallon, Koozma J. Tarasoff, and Ken Innes, 1979). More photos were added by the film team to my collection and these were acknowledged.

In addition, the fourth preface noted several valuable finds: collections from the Petroff sisters in Saskatoon, others from the Doukhobor editorial offices of *Iskra* and *Mir*, as well as from Nicholas Zbitnoff of California (a medical doctor from the Blaine Lake district of Saskatchewan who, in his youth, acquired a standard Kodak camera which he used to record some of the pioneering images at the early part of the century). I visited Dr. Zbitnoff in the summer of 1978 during my oral history expedition to the USA and Western Canada, and was delightfully surprised to discover many valuable prints.

Finally, in 1979, I updated, edited, and rewrote the entire "Annotation Guide" in order to present a clear standardized text to the user. Corrections and additions, as well as cross-reference numbers were incorporated. No change, however, was made to the numbering system so that the Archives could maintain continuity with my earlier version.

For the final version, I changed the title from "Photo List re Doukhobor History — Photographs Illustrating Doukhobor History During the Past 150 Years" (1960) to "Tarasoff Photo Collection on Doukhobor History — An Annotated User Guide" (1979). In the preface, I stated:

> It is hoped that the First Revised Edition will better serve the user whether he/she is a university student, a television producer, a magazine editor, a librarian, or simply an interested observer who desires to peruse the "Guide" and perhaps requisition selected prints for personal use.

The rare Doukhobor collection has been both a rich resource for illustrating my books, and it has also been the motivator itself for at least one of the books.

After collecting several hundred photographs and being stimulated to take many more hundreds, the questions arose: What shall I do with these? Where shall I store them? How can I share these with the public?

Out of this questioning process, the idea for my first book developed naturally. My *Pictorial History of the Doukhobors*,[1] with over seven hundred and forty photographs, included a substantial number of photographs from my rare collection. Other photographs came from my personal collection (which today numbers well over forty thousand images), while others were purchased from newspapers and photo studios in Western Canada, as well as several from the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa.

My *Traditional Doukhobor Folkways*[2] study, which was published by the Museum of Man in Ottawa, included only my contemporary collection. The narration was a collection of oral history relating to Doukhobors across Canada and the USA. My most recent book, *Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors*[3] is a full-length history of the Doukhobors in the world. Here I used the best of my historic and contemporary photograph collections to illustrate the book. For the cover (back and front), I chose two beautiful photos by Robert Minden, a professional photographer from Vancouver whose collection odyssey into the Doukhobor country of British Columbia resulted in a collection which the National Film Board purchased called "Separate From the World: Meeting with Doukhobor-Canadians in British Columbia" (1979).

As an anthropologist, I regularly took my camera on my fieldwork among the Plains Cree and Saulteaux in the Broadview Rural Development Area. The result was another Museum of Man publication, *Persistent Ceremonialism: The Plains Cree and Saulteaux*.[4]

Apart from the Doukhobors and the Indians, I have for years been documenting the peace movement on black and white, and colour stills. These include the peace manifestations in Orcadia (1964) and Dana (1965), Saskatchewan, the peace gathering in the International Peace Gardens at the Manitoba-North Dakota boundary (1966), and more recently many activities in the Ottawa area on Parliament Hill, at meetings, as well as interviews. My latest study is on "Pacifist Minorities in Canada: A Focus on the Peace Witness of the Mennonites, Hutterites, Quakers, and the Doukhobors."

I mention these activities to point out the opportunities that exist around us by way of recording history in the making. In my opinion, the peace movement will become an important historical movement that ought to be documented. Because I have both the interest and the equipment, I have personally taken time to attend these events and capture them on film (along with notes on paper). In time, these materials will eventually reach the public through the Archives. First, however, as the creator of this material I would like to use it in some published works.

Just recently I had a call from a producer of a new National Film Board film on "Women, Power, and Peace" and I shared my collections with her. Another request from a filmmaker in Western Canada may result in some collaboration as part of a film team. As a photojournalist, I periodically sell photos to publications in Canada and the USSR.

One of my pleasant surprises was an invitation to serve as photojournalist to the 1980 Moscow Olympics. While the major magazines and local newspapers ignored me, I was able to get good coverage in the Doukhobor press in Grand Forks as well as in the interior British Columbia papers of the West Kootenays.

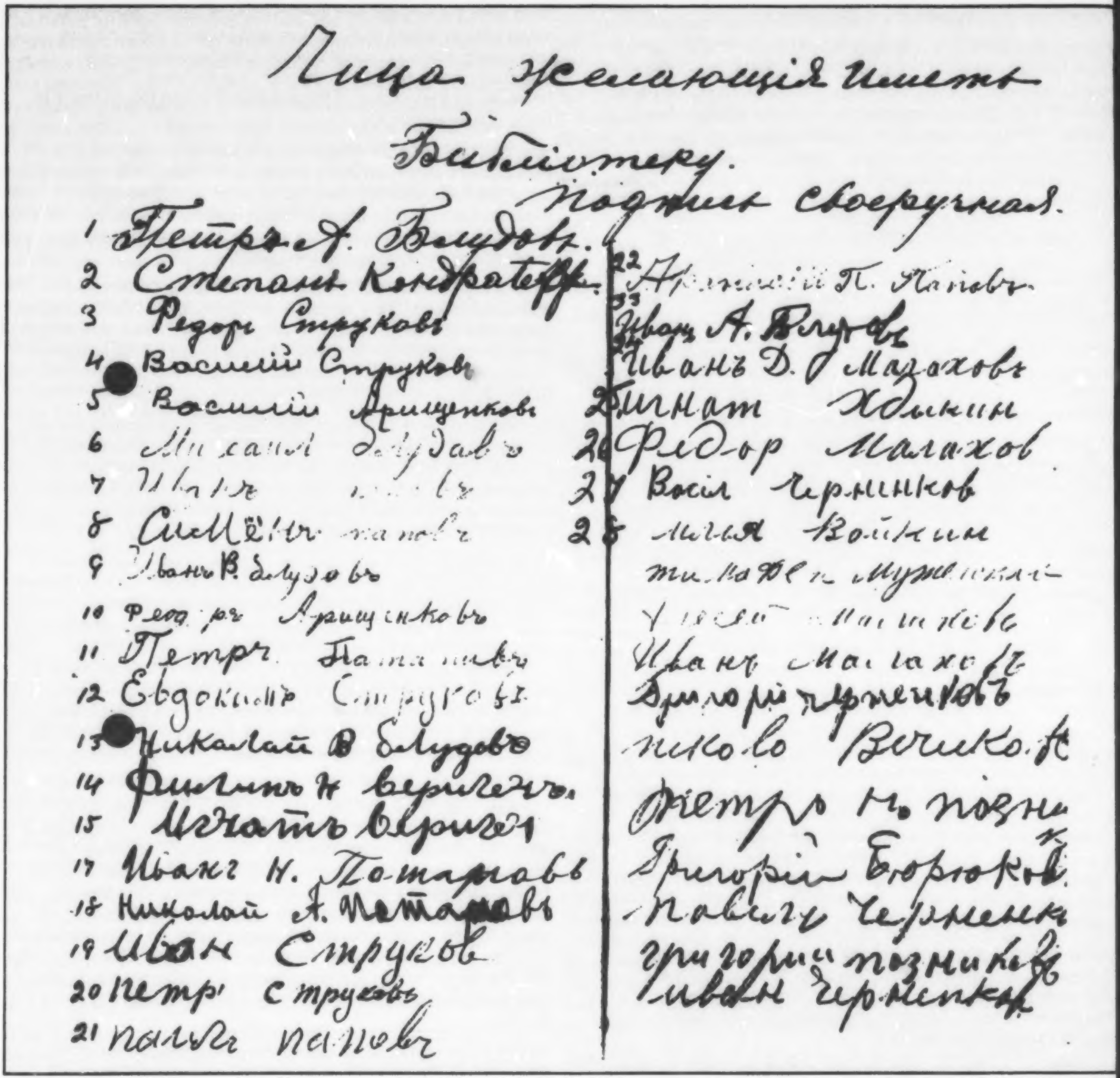
For the writer and publisher, clear historic photographs provide an important source of direct information to the overall story. Photographs can provide a sense of place and time. By combining visual images with the written word, you open up more of your senses of seeing, hearing, and feeling, and, therefore, produce a powerful learning experience.

Unfortunately, there are hazards involved in using unknown or inappropriate images in published works. These hazards stem from memory loss, ignorance, and distortion. It is, therefore, important to check the information out with several other sources: books, documents, and other informants. When accurately described, good photographs become a primary source of information, revealing history frozen in one moment in time. In some cases, you can directly see the date on the building, the relationship of people in the photograph, and the action therein. You can even reconstruct important events in history.

For example, when the Doukhobors burnt their firearms in Tsarist Russia, on June 28, 1895, there were no photographers around to record the event on film. However, I was able to recreate the event by taking photographs of the location in the USSR, comparing these to images of people at that time, getting some oral materials from oldtimers as well as reading about the event from published works, and then engaging an artist to recreate the scene. Saskatchewan artist Bill Perehudoff did this for my book *Pictorial History of the Doukhobors*. Also fifteen other sketches were done in a similar collaborative fashion.

At this point I must say a few words about the misuse of the photograph. Photographic images are so powerful that they can linger on out of context to the wider historical facts. We need to remember that photographic images are taken from a selected location; they are framed to include only a portion of the action (and, therefore, they exclude other action), and they are developed and processed in the darkroom in order to present a specific feeling. That is an edited version of what actually happens. We as viewers need to know this.

Soon after the Doukhobors arrived in Canada at the beginning of the century, these people were maligned by sensational stories about their moral conduct. When individuals stripped, the news media was there, as were the cartoonists and later the photographers, labelling these actions and people as "crude," "uncivilized," as "dumb as cattle." When some burnings took



Лица желающія иметь Библіотеку.

Подпись своеручная.

1 Петръ А. Блудовъ.
2 Степанъ Кондратеff.
3 Федоръ Струковъ
4 Василій Струковъ
5 Василій Арищенковъ
6 Михаил Блудавъ
7 Иванъ [illegible]
8 Семёнъ Пановъ
9 Иванъ В. Блудовъ
10 Федоръ Арищенковъ
11 Петръ [illegible]
12 Евдокимъ Струковъ
13 Николай В. Блудовъ
14 Филипъ Н. Веригинъ
15 Игнатъ Веригинъ
17 Иванъ Н. Потаповъ
18 Николай А. Потаповъ
19 Иван Струков
20 Петр Струковъ
21 Павелъ Пановъ
22 Арсеній П. Пановъ
23 Иванъ А. Блудовъ
24 Иванъ Д. Малаховъ
25 Игнат Хдыкин
26 Федор Малахов
27 Васил Черников
28 Илья Войкин
[illegible] Мужиков
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Иванъ Малаховъ
Григорій Черненковъ
Никола Бочковъ
Петръ Н. Позн
Григорій Бирюковъ
Павелъ Черненк
Григорий Позниковъ
Иван Черненковъ

Petition from the Russian Doukhobor settlement at Arran for a library of books in the Russian language, 1917. Saskatchewan Archives Board, Department of Education, Mechanics and Literary Institutes Records, R-177.

place, first in Saskatchewan and then in British Columbia and Alberta, the media was there as well, along with the photographers, capturing a page which they considered to be "typical" of the Doukhobors. But was it really "typical?" According to whom?

The fact is that these events were *not* typical. Often politicians, school administrators, and sensational writers foisted a negative image on these people in an attempt to make them heel to the dominant values of the majority group. Writers and publishers discovered that stories of burnings, bombings, and nudity sold papers. In time, some of them reasoned that these acts were an inherent part of the Doukhobor and Russian mentality.

As a Doukhobor with over thirty years of observation of the movement, this characterization is nonsense. Contrary to popular opinion, these acts are inherently contrary to the Doukhobor movement. Anyone who participates in these acts automatically excludes himself or herself from the movement.

But the false printed word and the sensational images of a portion of the action persists.

The Doukhobor case is a caution to all of us when we use photographs in publications. Photographs, like written materials, can be taken out of context, and the annotations for them can do the same. There is no substitute for careful research. Ultimately we need to be humble — because future discoveries may require us to revise and update our annotations, just as historians and archivists are finding that new discoveries often change our interpretation of the people and the wider landscape around us. It is just difficult to achieve perfection.

Besides the obvious value of good photographs for historians, I would like to touch on two other uses. The first is by the dramatist, the artist, and workers in the film and television industry. For all of these, the visual image of rare views provides important cues for the creation of period costumes, nonverbal cues on posture, and other aspects of behaviour, on architecture, environment, and the many other details that actors and others need in creating a sense of time, of place, and of character.

The second application of the rare photograph is that of the teacher and psychotherapist. We all have experienced how a striking photograph can draw upon all of our senses of seeing, hearing, feeling, taste, and smell. Because such images have the power to metaphorically grab us by the collar, they can be used to help us learn new skills, and they can jog our mind to remember early events in our lives; they can be used in family therapy to help elicit meaningful responses from shy persons.

Photographs can even make us well. When the American writer, Norman Cousins, was diagnosed by his doctors as having a deteriorating illness, he cleverly grasped his situation and spent hours watching funny movies, with the result that the ensuing laughter produced the appropriate internal chemical change which led him on the way to recovery. Beautiful and funny photographs have surprising powers that can serve as healing resources. The future uses of photographs are only limited by our imagination.

In summary, photographs are an important source of visual imagery about the activities, the characters, and the events that are worth remembering. They capture a moment of time in history. They are an important societal resource.

The visual recording of the multicultural community is a resource that society ought to tap. To do this effectively, government grants are useful for specific projects such as writing pictorial books and producing ethnographic films. Even more useful are cooperative arrangements between archivists and serious collectors from the multicultural community. This collaboration can help unearth valuable visual resources from the hidden closets of time and then expose these to the light of day for all to see and enjoy. This collaboration is essentially a barter system whereby the collector fetches the original, lends this to the archives (along with a set of annotations), and eventually receives the original back along with two extra copies (one for the donor, the other for the collector). The public has access to the photographs, and everyone wins.

Sharing photographs with a group of oldtimers is a good source of information, anecdotes, and contacts with other sources. Cooperation and support for your photographic collection project from your ethnic community can provide useful dividends in terms of educational value, entertainment, and referrals to others with valuable collections.

Taking a professional attitude toward your work means that you will ensure that the rare historical photographs are accurately characterized, that the narrative descriptions are fair and complete, and that the interpretations are consistent with reality. To achieve that standard, we need to carefully research our images including the use of oral insights from members of the multicultural community.

Photographs can indeed tell a thousand words. In selecting and documenting rare historical photographs, our task is to observe carefully the cues that go beyond the surface imagery. Look carefully at the total pattern: look at the relationship of people to each other, the location of objects in relation to other things, the gestures of people and animals, the texture and colour that is found there, the dates and other markings that might reveal a sense of time and place, and the feeling that is elicited by the tone and mood of the images.

Collecting rare photographs in your community is an adventure that you will not easily forget. You will most likely gain many surprises and wonderful memories of your own past, an appreciation of your ancestors' contribution to the present generation, and by depositing these in a public archives, you will share valuable resources with the wider public. Everyone benefits! Caring for our past becomes a shared experience.

Notes

1. Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Pictorial History of the Doukhobors* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1969).
2. Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Traditional Doukhobor Folkways: An Ethnographic and Biographic Record of Prescribed Behaviour*. National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies Paper No. 20 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977).
3. Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors* (Grand Forks, British Columbia: MIR Publications, 1982).
4. Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Persistent Ceremonialism: The Plains Cree and Saulteaux*. National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 69 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1980).

Saskatchewan Geography and Multicultural Research

Maureen Fox

The purpose of this workshop was to outline the contribution which geographers can make to the preservation of the ethnic record. The culture of a people finds expression on the face of the land as well as in such forms as the arts, clothing styles, and ethnic cuisine, and the use of the geographic perspective in documenting the mappable aspect of a culture adds a further dimension to the record of our heritage, which we would all wish to be as complete as our efforts can make it.

The vehicle for this was a study undertaken of a distinct social group, and the aims were to show how a geographer works with records: that is, how existing documents are used, how additional information is sought and recorded, and how material which has been amassed in this way is integrated into a cohesive whole. In this sense a new record is created, often of some episode in our past which would otherwise have been forgotten.

Cultural geographers concern themselves with man's use of the environment, and with the manner in which groups occupy the land. The environment provides opportunities, but the use which is made of the environment is a function of culture. Social and economic factors, such as farming practices, patterns of settlement, and the provision of shelter and industrial activity — in fact, the entire lifestyle of a group — will contribute to the evolution of a cultural landscape.

This is not a one-way process. Human activity makes its imprint on the land, and in turn human activities are bounded by the qualities of the environment. Practices which were the norm in the old country might not be feasible in the new land. We should also take care not to overlook the context of the settlement of a group. In earlier times it was possible for people to move into an area and transpose their culture intact, provided that the physical environment was similar, but at the time when the Canadian interior was settled there was increasing government involvement in the life of the people. In other words, a political component with many implications was added to the physical factors.

Thus, the geometry of the township and range survey formed the skeleton on which any cultural landscape had to evolve; the conditions of the homestead regulations made it impossible for the European tradition of living in villages to persist as far as most settlers were concerned, with certain well-documented exceptions; the choice of the area in which to settle was limited by the land open to settlement at the time and the existing transportation facilities.

The sub-title of this Conference, *"Documenting Saskatchewan's Multicultural Heritage,"* implies that such documentation is necessary — that there is a danger of losing part of the cultural heritage if knowledge now stored only in human memory is not recorded, and if materials of which their owners do not realize the value are not preserved. This was part of the reason why the study of the Jewish farm colonies in Saskatchewan was undertaken. The fact that there had been Jewish immigrants who farmed would no doubt have been remembered by some, but the time for personal contact and preservation of valuable primary source material was fast running out.

Jewish immigration into the prairies was part of the colonization of the Canadian interior which included many ethnic and social groups. It was also part of the movement out of a hostile environment in Russia which brought Mennonite and Hutterite settlers into Canada. These latter groups have been well studied and documented. Published sources indicated that the homestead lands had attracted a fair number of Jews as individuals and as groups of colonists, but this appeared to be the limit of the information readily available from library sources, apart from reminiscences and similar retrospective works.

Because of time restrictions, it was decided to select two colonies which differed in as many aspects as possible, and to study them in depth. These were the colony of Sonnenfeld, near Weyburn, and the colony of Edenbridge, north of Melfort. The reasons for these choices were:

1. Both were established about the same time (1906-1908), so comparison was possible.
2. The physical environment (soils, land cover, topography, some slight climatic variations) made environmental conditions different in each colony.
3. The Sonnenfeld colonists had been trained in agricultural methods at a training school set up by the Jewish Colonization Association in Galicia. They were assisted by this Association, whose agents were closely involved with the colony throughout most of its existence. In contrast to this, most of the Jews of the Edenbridge colony came independently from Lithuania via London, South Africa, or New York. They had very little farming experience between them, although some had been engaged in peripheral agricultural activities, such as cattle dealing.

There were several questions to be answered, such as:

1. Given the fact that they were allowed into Canada on condition that they settled on farms, why did they perceive these areas as good places to settle?
2. Did they take up land as much in contiguity as possible, or were they dispersed among settlers of other ethnic origins?
3. Were there still Jewish farmers in those areas? If there were not, how soon did they move away?
4. Did their occupation of the land result in a distinctive Jewish cultural landscape, or a generalized pioneer landscape with some recognizable Jewish components?
5. If they did not still occupy the land, why did they move away? Was it that they had less skill or less perseverance than others? Could their movement away be explained in environmental terms, or must social and economic reasons be found?

The geographer's most useful tool is the map. The use of a number of publicly-accessible sources[1] allowed a series of maps to be compiled showing land owned by settlers of different ethnic or social groups at ten-year intervals. Tracing the movement of the Jews into and away from the colonies was then a simple matter of following the maps; settlement patterns were also easily visible. The first maps in the series (1908-1910) showed thirty or more Jewish homesteads in each colony; the last (1970) showed only two family names in each. It appeared that by the mid-1930s the Sonnenfeld colony had ceased to be viable, while the Edenbridge colony functioned until the late 1940s. The drought and depression of the thirties had initiated an early beginning in Sonnenfeld to what appeared to be an inevitable end.

Once these time parameters and the outlines of Jewish settlement were established, some of the same records were used, with material from other sources[2] to recreate the presettlement physical environment, and to reconstruct the cultural landscape.

Explanations for the short life of the colonies were sought. Useful information was gained from the local histories, and from the records of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, which referred to the reports on the colonies which the Jewish Colonization Association had commissioned from the inspectors employed by the Soldier Settlement Board in the early twenties.

Most important, in the context of this Conference, is that much explanatory material was supplied by former colonists and their children who grew up in the colonies. Contact was made with the remaining families who, besides assisting with personal reminiscences, provided information about the general whereabouts of other families. Letters to Jewish community centres in various cities produced a number of useful contacts.

One cannot overstress the need to record and preserve such firsthand source material. A study done entirely from official sources tends to lack the subjective historical elements found in reminiscences, diaries, correspondence, and other private sources of information. Firsthand material is necessary to avoid errors of interpretation, and to add the human factor to the outline provided by official records. For instance, a map of Jewish homesteads at Edenbridge shows a north-south block of settlement on either side of the range line between range 16 and range 17 in townships 46 and 47, with an eastward extension along the township line. This placement represented a recognition of the need for easy access to the range line road, and a recognition that water was readily available from the Carrot River. What the map does not show is the information obtained from a former resident, that the range line homesteads were taken up by the Jews who came to Saskatchewan via South Africa, who were orthodox, while the township line homesteads were taken up by the London Jews who were more secular and socialistic.

At the time the study was made, the fact that these colonies had existed for a time was known by members of the Jewish community and by those interested in the history and historical geography of the province. Their existence is noted in some books on Jewish history and some local histories, and it is documented in government records. The Jews of Sonnenfeld were pushed from the land by the dry years and the problems posed by the Jewish Colonization Association. All those who left the land were apparently eventually pulled to urban centres by aspirations and ambitions which did not include farming, by a supreme adaptability, and by an extensive social and familial network. The subject had not previously been researched in detail, and not from the geographical perspective; thus the study was a documentation and a record of the occupation of an area by a distinguishable social group, the knowledge of which would soon have been obliterated by the passage of time and successive occupation.

Notes

1. The sources used include: Canada, Department of Immigration and Colonization, files on Jewish Immigration and the Jewish Colonization Association; Canada, Department of the Interior, Homestead Files, Saskatchewan Archives Board; Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, Lands Branch, Lands Branch Ledgers; Saskatchewan, Department of the Attorney-General, Property Registration and Management Branch, Land Titles Records; *The Saga of Souris Valley RM No. 7* (Souris Valley Historical Club, 1977); *R. M. of Willow Creek No. 458: Jubilee Year 1912-1962* (Willow Creek Rural Municipality, 1962); and headstones at the Edenbridge Jewish Cemetery.
2. Other sources of information utilized are: J. H. Richards and K. I. Fung, eds. *Atlas of Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1969); Canada, Department of the Interior, Township Maps, Saskatchewan Archives Board; Canada, Department of the Interior, Surveyors' Records, held at Central Survey and Mapping Agency, Saskatchewan, Department of Supply and Services; Cummins Rural Directory maps, Saskatchewan Archives Board.

Geography's Role in Ethnocultural Research

J. Howard Richards

Geographical studies are directed toward the interpretation and understanding of the earth as the home of man. Historical geography, a subdivision of the discipline, focuses upon the nature of geographical change, over time, and the processes that have contributed to change. Applied to a nucleated community, or to an area, the historical geographer attempts to create pictures of its character and appearance at various previous times and to trace the processes of change that have been effective in creating "past geographies" and in establishing the community's present geography (i.e., the visible expression of the nature of and relations between people and place). In this, there is recognition that the contemporary scene, also, is merely a point in a continuum of change.

Various facets of land and people are studied, including the following. Certainly important is the *location* of the place, first to ensure that others understand where it is and, second, to place it — and describe it — in terms of both its natural and socioeconomic environments. The *geographic form* of the community's "territory" needs to be described (for example, in maps and air photos) for otherwise there will be little understanding, on the part of strangers, of the extent and shape of the physical territory which is the subject of discussion. Within the community area are *identifiable objects and aspects*, parts of a cultural landscape made evident in such aspects as land use and in types of architecture (as in residential and commercial buildings, in farm buildings and their ensembles, in churches, and other institutional buildings). Then there is the analytical and integrative work of *historical geography* which attempts to place the community in a time perspective and, thus, to trace geographical changes in the pattern and character of the settlement. The order and emphasis awarded to these concerns will vary according to each researcher's special interests but all demand recourse to both old and recent information, and documentation from various sources, including old and recent photographs and maps.

Concepts of location are significant in geographical research. First, *location* is a fact of mathematical precision (as in a statement of latitude and longitude or, for local purpose, in terms of survey description) which describes the exact position of a place on the earth's surface; further, this position is fixed in its geometric relationships with all other defined locations. Hence, a Muscovite, Londoner, or Reginan — of some education — if given the latitude and longitude of, say, Perdue, could locate it on a globe or map and, even, postulate concerning the general character of its natural environment.

Second, location refers to a specific place and thus refers to what we commonly call *site*. This word, site, usually used in relation to a small area (where a house, institutional building, or town stands), may be applied to a larger area but, in any case, the term embraces features internal to that place such as terrain, drainage, water supply, natural vegetation, and soils. Thus the concept of site helps to direct attention to its physical nature and its physical potential for town building or farming, or other use.

A third concept tied to location is that of *situation*, the relationship of a place to other places. Occupied places interact one with another in terms of trade and social relationships so that the placement of a community had, and has, important situational consequences. The consequences were and are of a kind which may be discerned from some of the questions that follow here. Were the settlements close or distant? Were contacts with other settlements occasional or frequent, difficult or easy? Where were the service and main trade centres? What were the modes of transport and communication? How did interaction with other places affect commercial and social life in the community? What kinds of economic and social changes ensued as new trails, railway lines, roads, farm machinery, and trading centres came into being?

Changes in the community often are highly visible as in changes in land use, changes in function, changes in the townscape and farmscape, and obviously, demographic changes. The facts and factors of situation are volatile.

Always, the local community is a small mirror reflecting, at least in part, the larger community about it. In a rather more distorted fashion it reflects, too, the national community of which it is a part. Therefore, the historical geographer must try to ensure that his local mirrors, set up to entrap the likeness of the local community at selected time intervals, are tilted sufficiently to catch something of the world around.

For much of this type of geographical research, the map is an indispensable tool for several reasons. The map provides a precise way of recording observations whether these are derived from documentary sources or from direct work in the field. On the map, earth-based phenomena ("people and things") are reduced to a scale that facilitates analysis and comparison. Further, there is no substitute for the conciseness and cogency of the map in the presentation of distributions and patterns whether these latter refer to people, churches, types of farming, soils, or commercial activities. Drawn accurately, maps are susceptible to precise measurement; well drawn as "sketches" they can be effective illustrations. And a sound map is always visually striking, interesting, and mentally satisfying.

This presentation points to site, situation, and time as key elements in the appraisal of changes in the face (or cultural landscape) of the community, and refers to maps as concise documentary records and important tools in analysis. It does so because we believe that no community can be understood and no significant history of it written, except in relation to home and workplace. Indeed, our conviction is that lacking appropriate reference to the nature of the occupied land (site) and to the changing commercial and social routeways and interactions (situation), the written history of a community tends to be barren and to be an account of people who lived either in splendid isolation or on the characterless surface of a billiard ball.

Peter Heylyn in *Microcosmos, or a Little Description of the Great World*, 1621,[1] agrees with us: "Historie without Geographie like a dead carkasse hath neither life nor motion at all." But to keep the balance he also writes, "Geographie without Historie hath life and motion but at random, and unstable"!

In geography, as in other disciplines, documentary research involves two main operations, namely, locating pertinent materials and evaluating them for the purpose in mind. The former operation should commence with a search in general bibliographies for published writings, maps, photographs, and statistics that pertain to the study. In that we are addressing community historians and future community histories, it may be well to start with "provincial" books such as *Saskatchewan: A History*,[2] *Atlas of Saskatchewan*,[3] *Saskatoon*,[4] and other city and settlement histories.[5] Several contain excellent bibliographies pertinent to local research.

The second source for documentary materials are archives (provincial and other), actually the main source for many materials; local libraries should be consulted for sometimes they contain old maps, manuscripts, newspaper files, and old photographs. A third, come-by-chance source, is the researcher's dream: the discovery, in some attic or barn, of a previously unrecognized trove of recorded information (it happens — as with some of the Palliser Papers and, recently, with paintings and other materials of the expedition of 1857-58 by H. Y. Hind's younger brother). As a special grouping of rich research material, I refer to government publications such as the *Census of Canada*, the *Canada Year Book*, annual reports of departments of the provincial government, and others. Throughout all of one's search, a parallel process is the evaluation of materials, authenticity, accuracy, and pertinence. As geographers, we stress the need and purpose of assembling and expressing some of the derived information in map form to provide a new record of past geographers.

The reconstruction of past cultural landscapes is fascinating work which involves building upon evidence gained from writings, maps, photographs (ground and air), statistical records, and, possibly, interviews. This fascination accounts for the work of many in historical, cultural, and settlement geography and should be compelling in Saskatchewan, where so many places were occupied almost contemporaneously and, thus, provide great opportunities for the comparative studies of communities of similar age. Such studies may not provide solutions to any universal problems but they add to the understanding of people and places, of cultural and material heritage, and, possibly, of ourselves.

Notes

1. Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmos, or A Little Description of the Great World* (Oxford: I. Lichfield and I. Short, 1621), 11 cited in Rhoads Murphey, *The Scope of Geography* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), 15.
2. John H. Archer, *Saskatchewan: A History* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980).
3. J. Howard Richards and K. I. Fung, eds., *Atlas of Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1969).
4. Don Kerr and Stan Hanson, *Saskatoon: The First Half-Century* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982).
5. There are many, ranging from excellent popular accounts such as Edward McCourt, *Saskatchewan* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968) to more specialized treatments, such as Don C. McGowan, *Grassland Settlers: The Swift Current Region During the Era of the Ranching Frontier* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1975).

Perspectives on the Future

Developing our Multicultural Identity

George Hall

I would like to comment on our multicultural future from two separate perspectives. First, I would like to examine briefly how Canadians today feel about the multicultural experience. Secondly, I would like to comment on how we can make multiculturalism more of a reality as individuals and as a society.

I think that we would all agree that Canadians have a multicultural identity, both at home and abroad. Cultural diversity is inherent in our historical experience, and continues to be reflected in our society with the steady arrival of new immigrants. However, beyond our official image — on the subjective and social dimension, is our population at the point of enjoying a comfortable association with the individual cultural communities comprising our society? I am sure many of us can produce examples to show that in many respects, we are not there yet.

One example clearly comes to mind. I recall a recent conversation between an adult and a child of five recounted to me regarding the origin of Thanksgiving. In a discussion about the first Thanksgiving, the child stated that the people present were "the Indians and the normal people." The adult retold this incident stating, "Wasn't that cute ...?" Indifference or complacency in this type of a situation only perpetuates our social problems.

In days past, there had been a tendency to avoid open confrontation or conflict, except in isolated incidents. Our earlier immigrants felt pressured to become "invisible," to "conform," and to a large extent the same pressure exists for immigrants today. Many of our problems of attitude remain, and the anxiety that they bring is experienced as well.

What is our answer? How can the ideals of multiculturalism become a reality rather than simply a label attached to the society? In the search for a common denominator, exemplified in "Melting Pot" or "Canada First" ideas, society can produce an ethnocentric "Canadian is superior" stance, detrimental to the development of true multicultural diversity.

The starting point, in my estimation, must be a philosophical and ideological foundation: the goodness of humanity, and the worthy contribution of numerous cultures to our surroundings from which we can begin to challenge others to alter negative attitudes. To this must be added the concept that we are all equal because we are all different; and that the person, rather than the lifestyle, is what really counts.

How do we perpetuate these ideas in the world around us? First of all, we must see the scope of the problem. We are dealing not only with the attitudinal problems of the established citizenry, but also with immigrants and refugees who often bring their own stereotypes and prejudices with them.

I want to spark some ideas on how each of us might overcome these difficulties. I am not offering a blueprint for the future — I am leaving much to your own worthy imaginations. I am suggesting "starting small" in your actions, and by your success, demonstrating your sincerity and credibility. On the individual basis, each of us can contribute positively in our daily conversations with neighbours and friends, in staffrooms, stores, or wherever we are directly involved with others who verbalize negative statements or inuendos. I do not mean to say that we should become vigilantes for the cause, but we must be firm in our own convictions and not accept negativism. To retreat to an attitude of indifference or to plainly ignore what is being stated or actively practised is only contributing to the perpetuation of our problems.

What I am saying applies to all ages, including children, for in them lies our future. They are impressionable. Even by the age of five, they can be carrying the negative attitudes of home and society, as my previous example indicated.

We can accomplish much on a collective basis as well. One good place to begin is by supporting or organizing a local Multicultural Council, a local oral history society, or a local archives. These avenues can be used to pay respect to our cultural heritage and cultural differences. These activities are only as varied as there are people and ideas, so let us get involved! It is an excellent way to educate the public in the awareness and understanding of cultural diversity. Promote heritage and promote it in a dignified manner. If you cannot be directly involved, then try to see to it that others are.

Another way that individuals can be directly involved in heritage concerns is to devote time to organizing a local folk arts exhibition, running a newspaper column on your community, a radio series, or a community cable programme that explores the cultural makeup of your environment. Remember, keep it dignified — do not let it appear to be a side show at the circus or interviews with "them."

Utilize libraries and other resource centres to collect and display oral histories, photographs, and documents. Show that you are truly caring for the past. Remember, too, that the present is tomorrow's past. Record and preserve the records of the present. Do you have photographs or other documents that record the recent arrival of immigrants from Vietnam, El Salvador, Chile, or Ethiopia in your community? Also, encourage new residents from around the world to participate in heritage events; dignified citizens will make a stronger Canada.

If one chooses to be indirectly involved, one can serve a useful purpose by lobbying for action in this area. The committees to which you belong can prove very beneficial. Lobby the schools, city councils, chambers of commerce, and especially the media to be more sensitive to heritage concerns. How is the diversity of your community currently being portrayed, and what can these agencies do to better reflect the uniqueness of your community?

From that practical viewpoint, city councils, chambers of commerce, art galleries, libraries, and museums can play a greater role in offering space, personnel assistance, and, perhaps, some funding for special projects. In this vein, almost every community could benefit from the development of local tourism — self-guided, interpretive tours of local ethnocultural heritage sites.

Let us also be realistic in our assessment of activities, and understand that none of what I have outlined will occur without hurdles in the way. At times you may wonder if the effort is worth it. Rome was not built in a day but we marvel at its beauty. A small bit of appreciation for one another's efforts does much to keep motivation flowing.

The future really rests on what each of us is willing to contribute to make multiculturalism work — every activity, small or large, direct or indirect. Let all of us apply ourselves in this our provincial heritage year to assist in developing positive attitudes, building self-respect, and reinforcing the dignity of our differences by caring for one another's heritage.

Citizenship ceremony in the Legislative Assembly Chamber, Regina, c. 1948. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A2073(3)

Ethnic Archives: A Consumer's View

Zenon Pohorecky

Many speakers here have already spoken about what they may regard as good news for future relationships between the ethnic groups in Saskatchewan and those trying to save their rich ethnic resources for the use of generations yet unborn. I would like to save time at the outset here by registering my own agreement with all of these speakers, especially with those who may seem to contradict one another. This is a sincere, conciliatory gesture in the spirit of multiculturalism. A combination, compromise, or conciliation, rather than a confrontation of even contradictory viewpoints, especially among different ethnic groups may well defy logic — confounding logicians — but that is the secret of multiculturalism in Canada. In return, of course, I hope you may at least try to agree with what little I will be saying here as an ethnologist and archaeologist, from the discipline of cultural anthropology.

As many here already know, ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own ethnic group is better than others. It pushes natural pride in one's own heritage just a bit too far when it puts down others. Therefore, we anthropologists must regard ethnocentrism as a kind of cardinal sin, which unfairly degrades other ethnic groups as somehow less desirable than one's own, less Canadian perhaps, and even less human.

As an anthropologist, then, I must speak out against such ethnocentrism, wherever it is found, but especially if it is seen reflected in public institutions like archives, museums, libraries, or educational facilities. Whether such ethnocentrism was intended or not, it is still evident for all to see in whatever selections have already been made to include or exclude specific ethnic groups rather disproportionately, overrepresenting some, underrepresenting others, perhaps, because some were not available in either of the two official languages or whatever.

If I do not speak out here on such moral grounds, then I may be criticized for not doing my duty. However, whatever expertise on ethnic groups may be attributed to me, it still does not really qualify me to evaluate the adequacy or the representativeness of the ethnic content in our public archives in any technical detail, or to compare it with even those in neighbouring provinces. If there are any such shortcomings, I can only note that obviously the staging of this very Conference itself somehow suggests a growing awareness of a need and perhaps a willingness to do more for and with ethnic groups than may have been possible in the past for whatever reasons.

I must confess, then, to being just another casual user of archives, a consumer rather than a creator or producer of archival data. As such, I cannot be expected to trace with any precision the historical development of collecting procedures or archival data control systems, especially those concerning ethnic groups just in this province, because my own experience has been linked more to museums, libraries, and educational institutions, only some of which have archives on ethnic groups, usually their own ethnic group, if they are run by ethnic organizations.

Thus, I may be imbued with many of the outsider's mistaken public perceptions that may not flatter the Keepers of the Keys. It really is not their intent to lock us intruders out, as if we would behave like wild bulls in a china shop, damaging their neatly-packaged goods. That is why some of our best friends are archivists, or should be, should they not?

I have not been a reporter or a collector, or a custodian of such archival data, which, like many others here, perhaps, I saw at first as dealing mainly with the records of great men, politicians, premiers, and priests rather than with ordinary people, women, or ethnics. I confess having entered many an archival facility, from Ottawa to Victoria, quite innocently, usually awed and often as bewildered as any outsider. However, an even more frequent use of archives would never make me an archivist, neither part-time nor semi-professional. I would still cherish the outsider's rather narrowly-defined perspective focused on getting the most rewarding results out of the rather restricted time that I may have to devote to research. In the past, at least for me, archival research has often been a rather time-consuming activity, and often hardly worth the effort.

That is why, like others, I would really appreciate any effort made by professional archivists to help even the most inexperienced of us to locate, retrieve, and photocopy as quickly as possible what we are looking for, preferably in some central repository with all these facilities handy. Computerizing archival data according to type, place, time-period, source, and any other categories deemed relevant for researchers would be the most desirable direction for developments in the immediate future. It would benefit both insider and outsider, thus satisfying everybody concerned. As taxpaying voters, then, regardless of party affiliation (if any), we should voice our support for such essential expenditures. Why not let your MLA know how the ethnic group you represent feels about this?

The records of each ethnic group in such a repository may merit special shelves or a separate row of shelves in such an area. Items on these shelves may then be classified according to their geographic location and historic period, wherever possible, rather than just by the name of the collection's donor. Cross-referencing such data in other ways may also be helpful, for instance, if I wanted to find references to such folkloric practices as weddings or funerals among the various ethnic groups in different parts of the province during the past century.

Of course, casual consumers like me have sometimes liked just to browse at our leisure. If we had a day or two to kill, we would go to look at whatever struck our fancy. Cross-referencing would seem to be quite irrelevant to such fishing expeditions, meant to be as purposeless as playing with a kitten. However, occasionally we may be grateful for any time-saving electronic devices that our provincial archives can afford to install for our convenience, when our searching does have some specific purpose, and when we are pressed for time.

For instance, if we draw a complete blank at the provincial centre, even after engaging in days of time-consuming preliminary searching, just to locate the local archival collection (perhaps in an ethnic organization's museum or in some other archival facility outside the province) which may have exactly the kind of archival data being sought, we really would appreciate being able to exploit the speed of whatever new computerized gadgetry modern technology has to offer. Such rapid reference would enhance accessibility for research.

This innovative wizardry would also polish and brighten the dull image of archives as a dark and dismal cellar storing treasures amidst dust and cobwebs. Hopefully, it may even facilitate eventual accessions from local collections to a more central repository, or vice versa, wherever such exchanges are appropriate. In any case, all these electronic *gizmos* should certainly streamline communications between archivists and their customers throughout the province and beyond.

So far, as an outsider, I have asked only what my archives can do for me, the consumer, the customer, rather than what we — as representatives of many ethnic groups — can do to help archivists do their job, that is, preserve our past for the future, of course, but also make the data in their keeping more accessible for researchers like us. I feel this afternoon's chairman, who heads up the provincial archives, may look kindly upon a big poster or T-shirt with words that paraphrase a famous presidential imperative, invoking participation in the opening of a new frontier: "Ask not what your Archives can do for you. Ask what you can do for your Archives."

As indicated in many workshops listed in the programme of this conference, we can do much more than just lobby our MLAs for more money for archival development, especially in computerizing basic data for researchers. What we can do most is to learn. We can learn the basic skills and methods of archival endeavour. Such activities are assisted by the many methods and techniques already developed to allow plenty of scope for the active participation of even interested amateurs like me — not just for academic research or scholarly studies sometimes buried in learned journals or theoretical analyses, but for more community-oriented work or public broadcasts on radio or television, and especially in our schools and universities. We can learn.

We can learn to find rapidly vanishing archival resources, to find them perhaps in old people willing to have their life histories recorded. We can learn to report our finds, perhaps to a local museum or an ethnic organization that can undertake follow-up work. We can learn to collect our ethnic genealogies or old family photographs. We can learn to record our collections properly before we forget the details that may be necessary for others to use them more profitably. We can learn all kinds of things. We can learn to donate our collections to some appropriate central or local repository, or research facility, and we can certainly learn to treat these rather recent reflections of our experience as we would more ancient relics of the past, like protected archaeological or historical sites and artifacts, agreeing that with increasing age all these items will grow in value for future generations.

In conclusion, however, as an outsider in another area, which concerns ethnic groups and their aspirations, I would like to suggest rather briefly at least two possible directions which may be explored quite fruitfully by those ethnic groups that are most interested in having some of their archival data applied — applied first toward some popular publications with substantive content, and second, toward courses taught in schools and universities. These two applications are really practical ones that move in a single direction, converging and intertwining, but let us discuss each separately for the moment, to make some analysis easier.

First, then, let us note that there is an outstanding success story in Canada regarding the publication of materials dealing with various ethnic groups in a readable and popular format. It is an example which should be emulated in Saskatchewan as soon as possible, rather than be put off into the distant future. I speak here of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, whose headquarters in Toronto I visited just last week. It was once housed together with the provincial archives, before each moved to a separate location; their close relationship continues and remains fruitful. The provincial government generously subsidizes an excellent series of publications on ethnic groups in Ontario published by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, which then distributes them across Canada. This is still the cheapest way of getting out substantive information about ethnic groups to students, to teachers, to libraries, and even to producers in the CBC or NFB, whose film-features may provide broad exposure now, or future material for programmes, which could be transmitted on fibre-optic cables throughout Saskatchewan and be ordered and retrieved at any time.

The role of archival data in the production of such popular publications on ethnic groups in this province should be self-evident. The application of such published archival data to the educational system thus becomes a separate, though related activity, necessarily involving some form of incorporation of materials to academic curricula, if there is any room for them at certain grade levels. Second, then, the books should be relevant to what is taught in social studies, and should be useful as guides or reference works for teachers not too familiar with ethnic studies.

Other books may be written as texts for university courses and even now could be used in many disciplines, including ethnology, history, sociology, geography, political science, Slavic studies, Native studies, and various courses in the College of Education. Such a recent surge in ethnic studies may seem to warrant the creation of a chair of multiculturalism at some university as a tangible gesture of recognition to a hitherto neglected area, and certainly as a prestigious symbol for the future. However, in view of the many disciplines already involved, it may seem unfair to some if just one was selected as somehow more representative than the others. This is a problem with academics. Rather than bend noses out of joint on what may really be a non-issue, we might consider instead the alternative chosen by the University of Toronto, which created a committee with representatives of all departments involved in teaching courses on ethnic groups, and there are quite a few. Thus, funds that may have gone to pay the salary of just one professor, whose presence might be resented by colleagues, could then be diverted, perhaps, to finance more archival research on ethnic groups by faculty or graduate students, or provide scholarships or prizes for students enrolled in courses dealing with ethnic groups. Spending money is really no problem, if you have it allocated, right?

We are now neighbours. Our ethnic groups' histories in the Old Country as in Canada may focus on political and military hostilities, still recalled uneasily. Still, we can coexist here and even intermarry, building a more harmonious future. Let us try to make our archival endeavours reflect this positive ideal, and to learn from the grim realities of the past already documented in our archives.

Archives and Multicultural Education

Ernest J. Epp

Our legacies largely determine our destinies, and among our most significant legacies are our historical records. Accurate historical records are the most important touchstones we leave for the generations that follow. In a similar way, an abrogation in recording the significant events of our day can perpetuate an incomplete and inaccurate understanding of those events and can jeopardize our future. The past few days have provided an indelible understanding of the value of preserving historical information.

The recognition that Canada is a multicultural nation without a single, dominant culture is fairly recent. In the early sixties, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism trekked across Canada, discovering that this country was and is multiethnic, multireligious, multiracial, and culturally pluralistic. It affirmed that Canada was indeed multicultural, and essentially bilingual.

In 1971, Canada adopted an official policy of multiculturalism. It is now evident that many Canadians individually and through various organizations and associations have contributed to the achievement of the goals that form an implicit part of this policy. However, one must ask the question: what has been accomplished since 1971? We must turn to the historical record — a thirteen-year old historical record — for the answer.

Multiculturalism may be currently understood to mean that *I* do not only want *my* individual or group's special characteristics respected or the broader culture of my group accepted, but that I and we wish to be active and equal participants in the fullness and potential of Canadian life.

An event that has been slow in coming is the recently legislated Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This Charter epitomizes the commitment of Canadians to overcome prejudice and discrimination. We must, however, acknowledge a practical dilemma that inherently accompanies the ideal state of the Charter, namely, the noticeable lag between commitment and implemented practice. We must reassert that institutionalized prejudice and discrimination based upon ethnic, religious, racial, or cultural background must be eradicated.

An appeal to the ideal serves as a catalyst for change in our society. I would like to focus particularly on change within the Canadian educational system, and the multicultural challenge facing it.

As we know, Canadians consider education crucial to success in life. The integral relationship between the school and society continues as an ongoing dynamic for positive change. Consequently, the school, in its widest interpretation, sits at the crossroads of change — change rests in the fact that Canadian society has changed markedly in cultural composition and orientation. The school must keep pace. The expectations that the public holds of education have grown enormously. Schools can no longer reflect the society they serve; they must assume a leadership role.

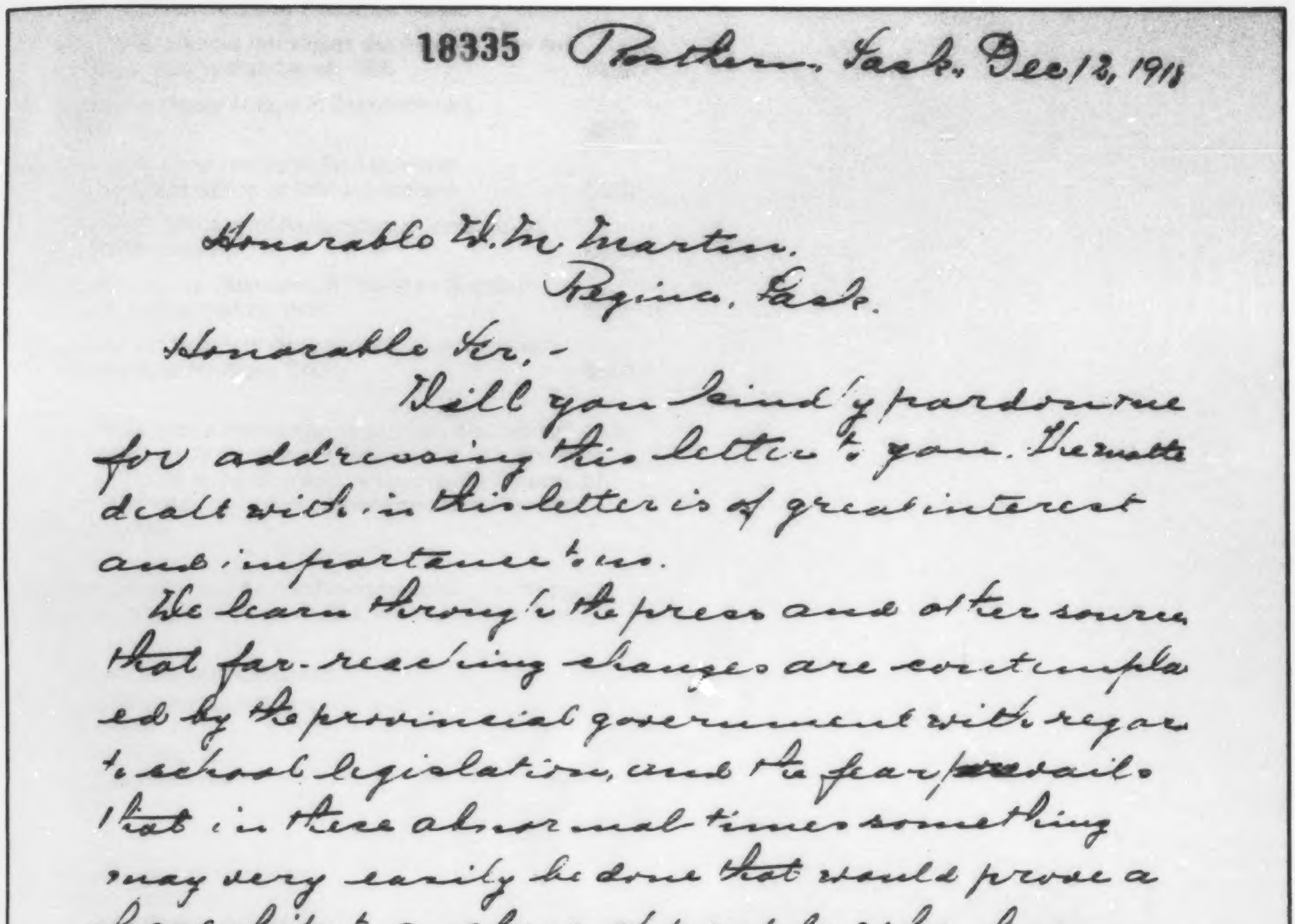
In terms of a fuller recognition of all peoples of Canada in the various school curricula, multicultural and intercultural education will have to become an integral part of all curricula development and teacher education. We might also say with confidence that the schools will have to exist in greater harmony with the communities that support them. Mention must be made of the growing relationship between community and classroom — an extension of public education to the community — with a noticeable focus on museums, libraries, and other community facilities.

However, we dare not limit our long-range planning to the classroom only. Multiculturalism is now a part of the Canadian way of life. Such a premise in fact, accepts that multiculturalism is mainstream Canada in personal, social, political, and economic terms. As a result, multicultural education must go well beyond the classroom and appear in the marketplace, the industrial complexes, the financial institutions, and in our systems of justice. Discrimination is still evident in these areas just mentioned. Unless we acknowledge what the records say in this regard, such injustices will continue.

In conclusion, it is my wish to see the multicultural composition of Canada's people reflected in all of our government institutions, agencies, crown corporations, and departments, as well as in all organizations, private or public, provincial or federal. Perhaps Canada, with its concept and acceptance of cultural diversity within a common nationality and citizenship, will be the prototype for the world of the future. This should be our goal.

Notes

1. Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Peter McCreath, ed., *Challenges and Opportunities* (Ottawa: Nottawasaga Thinkers' Group on Multicultural Education, 1984).



18335 Rosthern, Sask. Dec 12, 1918

Honorable W. M. Martin.
Regina, Sask.

Honorable Sir, -

Will you kindly pardon me for addressing this letter to you. The matter dealt with in this letter is of great interest and importance to us.

We learn through the press and other sources that far-reaching changes are contemplated by the provincial government with regard to school legislation, and the fear prevails that in these abnormal times something may very easily be done that would prove a hardship to a class of people who have received the promise and the invitation of the government of the Dominion in the best of faith.

Is there any need for drastic measures on the language question? You know, Mr. Martin, that in these trying years the foreign population as a whole has given very little cause for censure and complaint and this in spite of the fact that we were being abused continually in the press and otherw

Letter from the Reverend David Toews, Mennonite pastor from Rosthern, to the Honourable William M. Martin, Premier of Saskatchewan, expressing his concerns about the impending school legislation, 1918. Saskatchewan Archives Board, William M. Martin Papers, M4, File I.53(b), p. 1833.

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